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East Europe Report

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AGRICULTURE

HUNGARY

POOR RETURNS CAUSE DRASTIC DECLINE IN ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 30 Oct 85 p 10

[Text] Animal stocks are in an alarming decline. According to KSH [Central Statistical Office] data, at the end of the first half of the year there were 973,000 heads of cattle in the country, 59,000 fewer than a year before. It has been generally known for a long time that the cattle stock of small farms is decreasing but this year the large-scale farms have also taken such a turn. Stocks were reduced by 4,000 animals at the state farms and by 30,000 at the agricultural cooperatives. The last time the country had less cattle than now was in 1976.

There was a particular decrease in the number of cows. In the middle of the year, there were only 710,000 cows in the stables, about 27,000 fewer than a year before. But the decrease in cow stocks is also endangering the future since the decrease in breeding animals will result in less milk and beef.

A similar fate befell the breeding sows. Within one year, their number was reduced by 83,000 and by the end of June only 680,000 were kept by large agricultural enterprises and small farms. According to previous experiences, this number is no longer sufficient to supply an adequate number of fattened animals to maintain continuous work in the meat industry. Namely, this requires the annual slaughter of 8 million hogs which in turn can only be supplied by 730,000 pregnant sows. Since there are not as many of them and the number of meat animals has also decreased by one million, the individual meat industry enterprises are forced to make interruptions in slaughter and processing.

Falling Back from the Forefront

The decrease in the fowl and sheep stocks at the farms is another indication of the decline of animal husbandry. For instance, within a year the number of sheep declined by 192,000 (8.1 percent). The consequences are obvious: this year there has been a 4-5-percent decrease in meat-animal production, a 3-percent decrease in milk and nearly the same decrease in wool production.

One could say that such large decreases in the animal stocks of the country came rather unexpectedly. Last year, we were saying that never before 1984 have so many hogs been slaughtered. The first 4 years of the Sixth 5-Year-Plan period were characterized by an expanding animal husbandry. There was an

increase in meat production, we produced more milk and the usual proportion was maintained, whereby more than half of the agricultural production income came from animal raising. However, anyone who carefully studies the statistics could see that there has been a decrease in cow stocks for years and the low point in sheep raising was reached earlier.

Thus the tensions had already been lurking earlier and their current surfacing was promoted by several factors. The decrease in world market prices is usually mentioned first. Compared with 1981, there was a 38-percent decrease in beef cattle, a 32-percent decrease in hog and a 37-percent decrease in fowl prices. For instance, one ton of pork could be sold for \$1106 in 1982, and for only \$810 last year.

As a consequence, this year's plan projected a reduction in meat production. Knowing it, the enterprises rightfully concluded that reducing the number of animals is the right thing to do. Their decision was also reinforced by the fact that their expenses had increased because of two years of drought and the severe winters. The profit margin in animal husbandry had been modest even before, and considerably increased costs could not be assumed by almost any of the enterprises.

The change in costs and prices became divorced from each other, profitability decreased which in turn also prompted a slow-down by the agricultural enterprises. The data from the Center for Statistical and Economic Analysis of the MEM [Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry] clearly show the characteristic process of the last few years. The average cost of the agricultural cooperatives of producing one liter of milk was 7.5 forints in 1980, and 8.33 forints last year. On the other hand, the average selling price was actually decreased by 1 filler [0.01 forint] from 9.18 forints per liter.

In 1980, 100 forints in costs produced 22 forints in profits at the dairy farms of the agricultural cooperatives. Last year, the figure dropped to 10 forints. In pork production, the profits relative to the costs were reduced by 1 forint from the 18 forints in 1980 and in chicken raising they were reduced from 12 to 5 forints.

Of course, there are extremely large fluctuations hidden by the averages. For example, at the poorest dairy farm of the country, one cow gives 1,855 liters of milk per year as compared with 6,570 liters at the best farm. The list can be continued for other sectors. According to the data from the National Council of Producer Cooperatives, some cooperatives produce 0.8 tons of pig for slaughter per sow while others produce 2.3 tons. The annual egg production per hen fluctuates between 74 and 283. There are also differences among the types of agricultural enterprises. Last year, the average yield of milk was 4,435 liters per cow at the agricultural cooperatives as compared with 5,567 liters at the state farms.

The profitability of production is closely related to yields and thus it is understandable that there are significant differences among the profitability indicators of the enterprises. Last year the cost-related profitability of dairy production was 21 percent at state farms and 10 percent at cooperatives.

The picture is also rather depressing when the results of our animal husbandry are compared with the leading countries. Although we rank 4th on the list of per capita meat production, we are 12th in milk production per cow and 17th in egg production. More is revealed about actual productivity when the indices of labor productivity are compared although our backwardness is even greater in this respect. At the specialized dairy farms of agricultural cooperatives--that is, at the leading places--one laborer cares for 11 cows. The number is 12 cows at state farms, 50 to 60 cows at modern West-European farms and even higher in the United States.

Role of Managers

There is much to improve. This is evident in comparing our results with others' and also in comparing the domestic enterprises with each other. Part of the deficiencies can indeed be improved since they are related to human negligence. Namely, at a farm where the yield is not even 2,000 liters per cow, the animals are obviously not even fed properly. There are practical examples to confirm it. New management was chosen to lead one of the cooperatives and, within a few months, milk production was increased by 1,000 liters per cow. Exchange of the stock naturally could not be considered in such a short time, merely the useless milking machines were replaced and the animals were given fodder in accordance with the professional requirements.

The fluctuations referred to are also unjustified because the sector is less affected by extreme weather conditions than is plant cultivation, and the development of considerable differences is due more to human factors and to discipline.

These are all true but they don't change the fact that the results of animal husbandry also depend on technological development and indirectly on the amounts which can be spent on development. And these have been small for a long time. In meat production, for example, there is 7-8-percent profitability relative to the resources. As a natural consequence, the profits from animal husbandry failed to produce sufficient money for investment. And, because the interest on loans is also considerably higher than the profit relative to the resources, the agricultural enterprises were not inclined to take out loans for investments.

In recent years, there were hardly any new buildings erected for animals anywhere in the country. This is very distressing to the experts engaged in development because they were planning field tested buildings and technologies which are not too costly but the farming enterprises did not even have the money to build those. Actually, the Fifth 5-Year-Plan period had already been characterized by the same situation with fewer animal housing units having been built than necessary. Although the enterprises did start some greater or lesser reconstruction projects but, having little money, mostly they just increased the number of spaces for animals and deferred technical-technological development. As a consequence, they "preserved" the outdated conditions of before.

Although it is true that there is a sufficient number of spaces to house the stocks, a large part of the stables is outdated, it does not provide the animals with adequate living space for meat and milk production. According to estimates by the National Council of Producer Cooperatives, for example, the proportion of traditional animal housing is 65 to 83 percent--differing according to sectors. The proportion of buildings depreciated to zero is 23-percent in sheep raising and 10-percent in cattle fattening. The situation is even worse with respect to the technological equipment of the stables. Only 15-percent of the cows are kept without restraints in modern stables equipped with resting boxes and only 20-percent of the sheep-folds are equipped with water, electricity and a connecting road leading to them.

Incorrect Proportions

Good fodder management is an indispensable condition for successful animal raising. These days, animal producers have all too little chance to accomplish that. On the one hand, this is derived from the incorrect proportions within animal husbandry. In other words, the number of animals consuming mixed fodder is extremely large in the country, exceeding the available mixed fodder and thus their feeding is not always done in accordance with the biological demands. Last year, for example, because of the drought, the proportion of corn in the feed had to be reduced thereby decreasing the energy content and increasing the length of the fattening period. In other words, production costs were further increased by incorrect feeding.

The chances for profitable animal raising are further diminished by fluctuations in mixed feed composition. During the second half of 1984, 57.8-percent of the industrial feed mixtures and concentrates were disapproved by the Institute of Animal Raising and Fodder Control because of their poor quality or deficiency in content. In January and February of this year, 95-percent of the tested pre-mixes failed to meet the specifications. A natural consequence is that in Hungary more than 4 kg mixed fodder is needed to produce 1 kg pork while in Denmark and Holland less than 3 kg is needed.

Regretfully, the situation is no better with the feeding of animals consuming mass fodder. The meadows and pastures are neglected, the yields per hectare are low and consequently the production cost of mass fodder is high, in turn again increasing the cost of animal products. In addition, instead of feeding the otherwise useless product of the meadows and pastures to the animals, the agricultural enterprises use cultivated land to grow the fodder, land on which profitably marketable commercial plants could also be grown. This has long been known among the experts, a dozen directives are there for a change but they are slow to take place in practice. For it is not in the interest of the enterprises to raise the poor productivity of meadows and pastures. A thorough overhauling ("amelioration") would be needed to improve the majority of them requiring much money and providing a slow return on the investment. Animal husbandry has a modest profitability, and at the farms the inclination is not to spend much money on a sector, the final product of which cannot be made use of with adequate profitability.

Eventually the strange situation arose in animal husbandry, whereby through purchases abroad and crossings at home we have very high-yielding species, but

the exploitation of their genetic advantages is hindered by technological backwardness and incorrect fodder management.

Modest Solution

Starting in January, the situation will change. The new regulation will provide more favorable financial conditions and thereby incentives for developing animal husbandry. Purchase prices will be raised and the large agricultural enterprises will be able to get state support for building new plants and for reconstructing old ones. The possibilities of the sector are increased by making it possible for about 160 farming enterprises to join the development program realized through World Bank loans.

In recent weeks, people at the agricultural cooperatives and state farms have been calculating how much the profitability of animal raising will improve and what investments they will be able to initiate. A rather colorful picture is evolving. The measures directed toward raising income will merely cover the losses at farm enterprises with modest previous results while at other places they will indeed modestly increase profitability. It is, of course, a telling sign that the enterprises are not standing in line for developments associated with the World Bank programs.

The signs of evolvement are noticeable, nevertheless. It is true that rapid changes can hardly be expected since a modest advancement in animal raising will be possible mainly at the more successful farm enterprises. This is indeed the goal rather than helping the stragglers join the middle field merely through external support because, in the production of animal goods, quantitative changes are not so much needed; qualitative renewal is much more important.

Nearly half of the agrarian exports is derived from animal raising. On the other hand, product quality is an increasingly prevailing condition of marketability. Its foundation starts to be laid in the stables. In conclusion, from its current downward trend, the developmental graph of animal raising can again be turned upward through the detailed and careful work of experts and through consistent incentives.

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ECONOMY

HUNGARY

CONSUMER GOODS MARKET DESCRIBED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 20 Nov 85 p 10

[Article by Andras Nyiro, Department Head at the Ministry of Domestic Trade:
"Consumer Goods Market"]

[Text] The consumer goods market was characterized by a moderate boom during the first 9 months of this year.

The sales volume of the retail trade was 372.3 billion forints in consumer prices. This is 24.8 billion forints more than at the same time period last year, signifying an increase of 7.1 percent.

Twenty-five percent of the sales increase occurred in the first, 32 percent in the second, and 43 percent in the third quarter. Demand was particularly strong in July and September.

Along with the global balance of the purchasing power and availability of goods demand and supply on the consumer goods market has improved as well. Previous discrepancies have been somewhat mitigated and new problems have been mostly temporary and restricted to small areas.

An important change has been the modification in the nature of demand. The public, putting more emphasis on more thought-out and thrifty purchases and demanding a greater harmony between value, price and quality, has been giving more preference to less expensive products--whenever selection makes it possible.

So far the supply of basic foodstuffs, cut meat and meat products has been good this year. Poultry supply has been better than last year and that of live fish has been improving.

The supply of potatoes, vegetables and fruits has been considerably better than last year and for the most part prices as well have been lower than last year.

Clothes supply in the retail business has been better than last year. Improvement was more noticeable in the second and third quarters because of accelerated domestic and import shipments.

Many areas of supply--for example, men's and boys' overgarments and underclothes, baby clothes, etc.--have been substantially expanded, but at the same time we are still experiencing problems with securing an adequate supply, including a selection of sizes, of men's and children's shoes.

The supply of various manufactured goods also improved during the first 9 months of this year. This is related to the fact that the trade industry is now able to offer an adequate supply of construction materials, and there has been an even supply of furniture and cultural products as well.

Of the major groups of products, there has been a keen demand for freezers, gas stoves, water heaters, boilers, color televisions, tape recorders, etc. In spite of increased purchases and sales supply has not always been enough to satisfy demands. For example, 30,000 more television sets were sold in 9 months than last year, an increase of 41 percent, but even so the supply was not adequate.

The greatest problem for both the public and institutions has been the purchase of fuel.

Despite considerable improvements supply could not fully meet increased demands. We can expect further improvements by making up for delays in the mines and by imports. This process, albeit differentially by regions, already started in September.

In 9 months retail sales volume expressed in comparative prices has increased slightly, by 0.9 percent over last year. A significant change compared to the first half year has been that along with foodstuffs and consumer goods, sales of various manufactured goods at unchanged prices have exceeded sales last year by 1.4 percent. The clothing business and tourism have stayed at the same price level, but both keep decreasing in volume.

The gradual improvement of product supply has been greatly facilitated by the domestic industry's ability to increase its wholesale and retail shipments in the first 9 months of this year by 4.1 percent as measured in comparative prices.

This was typical of virtually all branches of industry. The only exception was the construction material industry. Shipments were smaller than last year because of a drop in public demand which resulted in decreased commercial need and orders.

A peculiar situation has developed in which so far this year the dynamic force behind industrial production, and partly economic growth, has been the domestic market, and within it the consumer goods market.

In 9 months the import of consumer goods has increased by 8.4 percent in current consumer prices. Import shipments increased particularly in the last 3 months of this time period. Our ruble import, comprising nearly 60 percent of the total consumer goods import, has increased moderately, at a below average rate of 2.4 percent.

An important part in the increase of the non-ruble consumer goods import was played by barter arrangements and various combined imports. These do not affect the foreign trade balance.

Of the main product groups, the supply of foodstuffs and consumer goods has increased by 7.2 percent in current consumer prices.

The import of garments has increased by 12.1 percent, while that of various manufactured goods has increased by 7.6 percent. It is particularly noteworthy in this latter product group that the coal import has increased by two and a half times since last year, and the briquet import has increased by almost 18 percent.

More imported products of information technology have been sold for domestic consumption, and this contributed to easing tension in this area in the first part of this year.

The improvement in the contractual relationship between domestic industry and trade that had started in the second quarter continued into the third quarter. In this time period trade was more able to satisfy the consumers' demand for better selection and faster shipments.

But for the last quarter of this year trade enterprises indicate changes in the favorable processes. Some industrial enterprises avoid signing contracts, and referring primarily to capacity problems they frequently set the shipment deadlines for the end of this time period.

(1) A KISKERESKEDELEM ELADÁSI FORGALMA 1985. I-IX. hónap			
(2) Árufőcsoport	(3) Milliárd Ft	(4) Az előző év azonos időszakának %-ában	
		(5) Áron	(6) Index
(7) Élelmiszerek és élvezeti cikkek	156,8	106,7	105,0
Ruházati cikkek	41,7	106,7	110,3
Vegyés iparcikkek	173,8	107,6	106,1
(8) Összesen	372,3	107,1	106,1

Key:

- | | |
|---|----------------------------------|
| 1. Retail Sales Volume 1-9 months 1985 | 5. In Current Price |
| 2. Main Product Group | 6. Price Index |
| 3. Billion Forints | 7. Foodstuffs and Consumer Goods |
| 4. In Percent of the Same Time Period Last Year | Garments |
| | Various Manufactured Goods |
| | 8. Total |

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ECONOMY

POLAND

UNION, SELF-MANAGEMENT ACTIVITIES

New Tasks for Mining Self-Management

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 19 Sep 85 p 2

[Text] Worker self-management and representative organs operate as part of a specific organizational structure within the mining industry. Worker councils exist and function at 8 coal mining companies: Jaworzno-Mikolow, Dabrowa-Gornicza, Katowice, Bytom-Ruda Slaska, Zabrze, Rybnik-Jastrzebie, Lower Silesia, Lublin-Chelm, Polmag Mining Machinery and Emag Mining Automation. They are now facing new tasks. Without the help of any preceding examples, they must work out the necessary forms of organization and work methods that will enable them to deal with the entire complexity and diversity of the different plants that comprise the large, conglomerated mining firms. They are gradually being consolidated organizationally and have already had their first results and experiences in work done on behalf of firms and their employees.

The representatives of 11 mining worker's council addressed this problem at an 11 September meeting in Katowice with the management of the Ministry of Mining and Energy and Mining and Energy Minister Czeslaw Piotrowski. This meeting was devoted to an exchange of experiences and the everyday problems dealt with by the worker self-management organs under the new organizational structure of the mining industry.

Among other things, the chairman of the worker's council at the Katowice Coal Mining Company, Jozef Stanoszek, discussed the experiences of the council's field commissions that represent 10 different mines. Their task is to maintain close contact with worker crews.

Plant self-management sections also operate at the Rybnik-Jastrzebie Coal Mining Company. In the beginning, they were involved with matters of production, employment, housing construction and the problems of land fills. Jerzy Marszolik, chairman of this company's self-management council, said: "We are just now learning self-management because this is something that cannot be decreed by any regulations".

10 January 1986

'Expanded' Trade Union Powers Noted

Warsaw ZAGADNIENIA I MATERIAŁY in Polish No 32/33, 10 Aug 85 pp 26-29

[Article by Izabella Czaplarska: "Trade Unions: Updating Union Laws"]

[Text] Within a period of less than three years since the Sejm passed the new law on trade unions, the union movement has been reborn as a self-managing advocate and defender of worker's rights.

The following facts attest to this rebirth:

-- the trade unions contain more than 5.5 million members which is more than half of the workers that are allowed to form unions in Poland;

-- about 60 percent of the members are blue-collar workers and this has established the working-class nature of these unions;

-- there are union organizations at 24,000 places of work; the structure of the union movement includes more than 131 branch national organizations, most of which are federations and the national representative for the movement, the National Confederation of Trade Unions and its provincial echelon, the provincial trade union confederations.

Therefore, the 8 October 1982 law's model of partnerly cooperation between the trade unions and state administration and its legal guarantees of the socialist union movement's independence have accounted well of themselves in practice. In defending worker's rights, the trade unions have had a strong influence on decisions made by organs of state administration on such recent key social issues as pay hikes and the shaping of worker incomes. The unions have become a meaningful partner to state administrative organs at all levels and they have maintained their own point of view on many issues concerning the rights and interests of workers.

Therefore, the efforts of the trade unions to achieve social welfare and job safety rights greater than those provided by the law are understandable. Their position was supported by the 17th Central Committee Plenum. After evaluating the realization of the provisions of the 8 October 1982 law, the Council of State consulted the unions and then presented an initiative of its own to introduce certain changes to that law.

As a result of these actions, on 24 July 1985, the Sejm made certain changes to the trade union law and to several other laws defining trade union rights.

The basic premise of these changes was to give a fuller definition to the role taken by the self-managing union movement in defending worker's rights, to encourage more union activity on behalf of workers and national growth, strengthen the position of the unions relative to the state administration and define their function in exercising supervision over work safety, vacations

and social security.

Aside from increasing union authority in key areas of the activities they carry out for the working people, the principles by which unions are created were adapted to union practices of recent years. The employment security of elected union officials was also improved and better operating conditions were created for plant union organizations.

More Rights

The law clearly states for the first time that the trade unions represent and defend the rights and interests not only of their members but those of all workers. The unions' obligation to care for the needs of all workers will be fulfilled through direction of the activity of the public labor inspectorate and the implementation of social and other activities which are, after all, normal union practice.

One of the most important changes is the greater number of rights given to individual plant union organizations.

The updated law introduces the obligation to reach an agreement with the unions over principles employed by places of work in their handling of social and housing funds and how these funds are to be allotted to provide benefits to individual workers. Up to now, the union organizations only had the right to voice an opinion on such matters.

There was also introduced the principle that an agreement must be reached with the plant union organizations over decisions made by organs at the place of work that concern a broad range of worker's rights. Such agreements require the establishment of a system of wages within the place of work as well as the setting of work and vacation schedules. Meanwhile, pay and bonus pay rules are to be determined in agreement with the plant union organization.

Plant directors have come under the legal obligation to cooperate with the union organizations at least once a year to assess the realization of worker's rights and social activities in their establishments and draw conclusions from these assessments.

These provisions enrich the unions' previous rights to shape social policy in places of work and determine work and pay conditions. It is expected that these new rights and especially the initiation of yearly or periodical assessment of plant conditions will contribute much to fair and legitimate relationships between workers and management and encourage more social activity.

The trade unions' right to defend the individual interests of working people was greatly strengthened in the updated law: the unions gained the authority to make revisions to every legally valid ruling on labor law and social welfare and to appear before the Supreme Court with recommendations for instructions on how to interpret the provisions of labor law and social

welfare as well as court practice. The national union organization may also call on the Supreme Court to interpret unclear legal regulations or those that have been the basis of questionable rulings.

Job Safety and Health Care

One of the most important areas which demands the involvement of the trade unions and special legislation is job safety and worker health care.

The updated law on the State Labor Inspectorate has given the chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control and the trade unions the legal right to supervise the inspectorate's operations. The Job Safety Council was transformed from an advisory organ to one responsible for setting programs for the State Labor Inspectorate and monitoring its activities. At the same time, under the provisions of the new law, the majority of the members of the council will be unionists and this will have a decisive influence on the directions and nature of the inspectorate's work.

The principle of union cooperation with public and especially industrial health care services will be introduced. The trade unions have also gained the right to introduce their own sanatoriums and allot sanatorium patient assignments, including assignments to state sanatoriums. This has been done not only in accordance with the current practice but also constitutes a restoration of previous union powers.

Meanwhile, an original Polish solution without any counterpart in other legislation is the granting to the trade unions of the right to participate in the supervision of the work of the Social Security Agency. This solution came into being because the updated law has clearly authorized the trade unions to protect the rights and interests of retired and pensioned workers. Union supervision over the work of that agency will be regulated in detail by specific legal provisions that are currently being formulated.

The right granted the trade unions to establish special investigative bodies to examine various aspects (such as the cost of living) of the situation of working people is very significant to their effective functioning,

Unions and Self-Management

The increased powers of the trade unions are not privileges at all because these organizations have also been made more responsible for the work of employees. In connection with this, the law stresses the need for management at places of work and self-management organs to cooperate with the unions to create conditions that are favorable to the workers' performance of their tasks, the assimilation of technical and organizational progress, a growth in inventiveness and efficiency and improvement in the quality and productivity of labor.

It is worth recalling that controversy and doubt has often been provoked by the subject of the authority of worker self-management and trade union organizations and the relations between these organs.

The unions have had their rights increased but not at the expense of the position and role of worker self-management. Both the union and the worker's council represent the same workers. The principle that decisions concerning workers have to be worked out with the trade unions means that there must be cooperation on such issues. Authority disputes between the worker self-management and the trade unions occur only from misunderstanding of the shared responsibilities that these bodies have to the workers. The law, by more precisely defining the rights of the trade unions, makes it easier to establish the proper relationship between these representative organs and for them to cooperate with one another.

The law also introduces a new institution in the conclusion on all levels of organization of agreements on cooperative realization of tasks that fall under the authority of the trade unions. These agreements are supposed to define the methods and means used to realize these tasks. They also stress the partnerly relationship between trade unions and other organizations including the self-management bodies.

However, it is not agreements alone that call for partnerly mutual relations: these are also emphasized by the trade unions' new right to make suggestions to organs of state and economic administration which are in turn obligated to take action within periods stated by the law.

United, Class

The law has put into order the principles of organization of the trade unions and their structures. They also sanction the organizational structures developed independently by the reborn unions because they state that the plant structure is the basic cell from which all other echelons of union organization such as the federations and interunion structures as well as the National Confederation of Trade Unions draw their authority. The law's solutions making it possible, for example, to create union cells in small work establishments, emphasize the universality of the law to form associations and will certainly foster further growth of the union movement.

The law leaves no place for so-called union pluralism. The postulate that this form of pluralism be restored did appear during consultations on updating union law but was not considered because the social and political conditions necessary for such pluralism had still not come into being. We still remember recent experiences in which a large union organization, independently of the intentions of its members, became a destructive force and a source of anarchy in public life. These experiences must incline one to exert great care. Poland can only have a socialist union movement!

If only one union organization functions within a place a work, there is better integration of the work crew, the trade unions are made stronger as defenders of workers' rights and it becomes impossible for socialism's enemies to use the union movement to attack the constitutional principles of government of People's Poland.

Therefore, the legal provision that one trade union be active in a place of work has remained in force. As the update of the law states, this principle will remain in force as long as the Council of State sees fit or until Polish social, political and economic life are stabilized in full.

The update of a law is always only a change in the provisions of that law. In this case, the change was dictated by the needs of life and concern for the more efficient functioning of the trade unions which was "too confined" in the former set of regulations. Whether or not it will be "just right" will be seen as a matter of course.

Self-Management Situation Reviewed

Warsaw FAKTY I KOMENTARZE in Polish No 32, 11 Aug 85 pp 14-15

[Article by dr: "We Answer Questions: What Is the Present Situation of Worker Self-Management?"]

[Text] The Sejm of the Polish People's Republic examined information of the Commission on Worker Self-Management and in a special resolution recognized that the majority of self-management bodies are making proper use of their legal powers and consolidating their position as an important factor in worker participation in administration and worker responsibility for the results of their firms' activities.

At the present time, the campaign for election of new worker's councils is continuing. What was the situation of the councils now ending their terms of office?

Worker self-management has been established in nearly 6400 firms, in other words, in about 90 percent of the places of work authorized to do so. Within these firms, there were active more than 11,000 worker councils (one or more per firm). More than 130,000 workers (73 percent of which were members of those firms' worker councils) took part in self-management. In the worker's councils at the level of the firm, blue-collar workers made up 51 percent of the membership while 66 percent of the membership at lower levels were workers. Respectively 29 and 19 percent of the membership came from engineers and technicians. Financial and bookkeeping workers made up about 10 percent of the membership in both the firm and lower-level councils and 24 and 13 percent of the council membership at both levels came from the management cadre.

The worker's councils are dominated by persons 30-39 years of age (45 percent) whereas the 40-49 age group makes up another 30 percent. Young people of up to 29 years of age made up about 10 percent of the firm council membership and 13 percent of the lower-level councils. About 18 percent of the council membership was women. Party members made up about 30 percent of the membership and a considerably higher percent of the council chairmen were party members.

In 1984, the worker self-management councils operated over the entire year. They made many fundamental decisions, from the setting of plans for the year to the distribution of profits. This had a great influence on the inclinations of worker councils to promote efficiency. Self-management activists are showing an increasingly economic approach to the activities of their firms and particularly to the disposition of their funds. This has especially made itself felt in the reinvestment of most of the firms' profits.

Information provided by provincial party committees has shown that the self-management bodies are independently searching for ways to get around many difficulties. Most of the self-management bodies in Lodz have become very actively involved in reviewing the central yearly plan for 1985. In this case, they pointed out the possibility of improving economic results in spite of a shortage of workers by increasing management efficiency and above all by increasing labor productivity, improving the organizational of work and increasing discipline.

The self-management bodies of Krakow provincial firms have concentrated their efforts on analyzing material reserves, extraordinary costs, use of production by-products and wage systems that promote efficiency. In Bydgoszcz province, the self-management at individual firms has succeeded in increasing their production for export to the second-payments area, in streamlining the management of fuel and materials and in effectively realizing a thrift program. In several firms in Katowice province, the self-management bodies have initiated an experimental system for conserving raw materials that has saved millions of zlotys.

Aside from these positive activities, there has nonetheless been no lack of passiveness in the face of difficulties as well as insufficient initiative in solving the important problems of firms. The newly-elected worker's councils should therefore have the two-fold obligation to continue their good work and eliminate the weaknesses they have shown so far.

Union Role, Management Conflicts

Warsaw ZARZADZANIE in Polish No 7, Jul 85 pp 16-18

[Interview with Alfred Miodowicz, chairman of the National Confederation of Trade Unions, with Tadeusz Bonik and Tomasz Uchman: "To Cut a Path"]

[Text] [Question] One of the tasks of trade unions is to care for the firm. How is that to be interpreted?

[Answer] It is in the interests of the trade unions that the firm or place of work function effectively, grow and be prosperous. If the firm is beggarly, it cannot give its people secure employment, proper wages or satisfaction from their duties. This is so often caused by inefficient management, poor organization of work and ineffective internal cooperation. People do not worry or tire themselves so they don't get results. It is therefore understandable that it is hard for trade unions to function in such a situation.

[Question] Do you not feel that unions can become competition for worker self-management? Maybe you would prefer to use the word "cooperation".

[Answer] To the misfortune of most of us, some theoreticians and practitioners try to present worker self-management and trade unions as two sides of a coin or two legs supporting reform. If you want to look at the matter that way, we do not know whether these legs will go in the same direction. For that reason, cooperation with worker self-management is also a matter of importance to the trade unions.

[Question] In relation to the tasks and role of worker self-management in the firm, the program of the trade unions is much broader. Let us say that worker self-management only deals with the affairs of the pocketbook. Can this not lead to drastic conflicts? We have already seen signs of this.

[Answer] In my opinion which is, of course, my own opinion, the conflicts come from very minor causes. Who was first? Who is most important? Who enters the director's office first? This is usually what these conflicts are all about, this pseudo-prestigious pomp. We do have however self-management bodies, although very few, that are very systematically destroying the trade unions but they are the exceptions. Cooperation with worker self-management is a must.

[Question] There are not only conflicts with worker self-management but also those between unions and plant management.

[Answer] A lack of understanding of the value of the social factor is first of all caused by the fact that, unfortunately, some directors are generally not fit (I am not talking about education or training) to carry out their function. The second cause of this is custom and trends. I am a manager now and I will show them what good management is! But a director cannot do much alone because the independent firm is in most cases a fictitious entity. To make themselves feel better, many directors dress themselves up as great managers.

[Question] How then can we enhance the role and situation of trade unions in their places of work? On what does this improvement hinge?

[Answer] To a large degree, the unions themselves and the union aktiv is responsible for their situation. In other words, this depends on the caliber of the people in the unions. But it also depends on the attitude of the director.

[Question] What sort of person should a director be if not a manager?

[Answer] He should be a normal enlightened person, one that is open-minded. We have too many specialists in these positions. I remember that at the Lenin Steel Works the worst director was a great specialist, one of the best blast-furnace specialists in CEMA. There are many directors like him.

[Question] In your opinion, is the job of director a function or profession?

[Answer] For me, a director is someone who has broad views on general matters and has an oversight on the firm as if he were looking at it from a helicopter. He is well-oriented to the mood of the workers and has the ability to hire good people. On the other hand, in Poland the director gives technical recommendations, is involved with details and loses a lot of time in various meetings. At the Lenin Steel Works, we once conducted a study trying to find out how much the management cadre was burdened by meetings and conferences. What did we learn? The five directors who were then supposed to be involved with conceptual thinking only had 30 to 90 minutes a day. These were good specialists who had been trained before the war and were working 14-16 hours a day.

[Question] Not much has changed since then. One scientific report has stated that the contemporary director in Poland works an average of 11 hours a day but the economic results are still very contrary. Let us go back to the conditions under which the trade unions are operating in our places of work. People are only one side of the coin. Regardless of their views, likes and dislikes or emotions, there are certain rules and standards of action. How well do you feel the management cadre and union activists at plants understand this? Do both sides know when they should consult each other?

[Answer] Both sides have a poor knowledge of the rules and legal standards. They get by on their intuition and good or bad will...

[Question] How then can the trade unions make themselves more "independent" of the administration?

[Answer] They can do this through using more initiative. There are ways for them to be independent.

[Question] On what does this depend?

[Answer] The union's base. It is hard to be an independent, self-motivating union when only every fourth or fifth worker is a member. When the union has a small base of support, its role is small. Anyone can say: Who do you think you represent?

[Question] In the USA, about 25-27 percent of all workers are unionized but those unions are still strong.

[Answer] But their strength does not come from their base alone but from the ability of a small group to make itself heard. They are internally strong thanks in part to their material independence. Things are different in Poland. Our union dues are low and we give little. If the monthly dues were, say, 1500 zlotys, the unions would have something to pay lawyers for unworked time and would be a real support for their workers. Then, even a smaller base of members would still make strong unions.

At an important meeting once, I said that it would be very good if 50 percent of the workers belonged to our unions. We are interested in gaining more members but not at any cost. After all, isn't this the argument our national opposition uses? The number of members and much here depends on our actions. People observe the work of the federations and the OPZZ. Our battle with the government is unfolding before their very eyes.

[Question] As a director of plant unions, what would you do in this difficult situation? In view of the unions' goals and conditions, how would you begin to act?

[Answer] Above all, I would examine the union cadre. This is a matter of fundamental importance. The level of the cadre must satisfy the tasks that it has to carry out. It may be a very raw group of people but it is enough if we can organize their work and in the course of that see their tasks grow like yeast.

The other matter is to know exactly what the problems of the plant are, all of the sections, even the hot sections. Every plant has its own specific problems and operations. For example, in a steel mill, such a hot section, and not only figuratively, is the work at the blast furnaces.

The third thing is that we absolutely cannot become detached from our background. This is even the most important thing to consider. When you have started working at the upper levels of plant management, you cannot afford to forget your old work crew. That is where you can best learn what people think and feel and what the psychological conditions among the workers are like. In this regard, the situation is presently very bad.

Meanwhile, in terms of union work, I would absolutely not begin by regimenting the plant. This creates incredible tensions among the workers and causes unnecessary divisiveness.

[Question] And job safety, health care. What should unions do in this area?

[Answer] This is where I see real dangers. First of all, who works in the industrial job safety service? Exploited people or those not fit for any other job. Job safety service is treated like the last stage before retirement or a form of convalescence after accidents. The situation of these services makes it even worse. A job safety technician or inspector is directly subordinate to the director for whom he works. In connection with this, the director uses him, as the workers put it, to cover his rear end. If there is an accident that cannot be covered up, then something has to be done to minimize responsibility, to keep it from going past the foreman.

[Question] But the law established the Public Labor Inspectorate.

[Answer] That does exist formally but I think that it will take two years for it to get on its feet. The trade unions should try to stand guard over the inspectorate but we have so many internal problems. In essence, the aktiv is expendable but this job safety field activity also requires a certain amount

of knowledge and as we said that is presently not at its best with this service.

[Question] However, most union activists are not that young. They have a certain amount of knowledge that goes beyond their place of work.

[Answer] I agree, they are young but not in their careers. On the other hand, very young workers once belonged to the union but they were never really activists.

[Question] However, the matter of job safety should be one of the main concerns of the plant union organizations. This is proved by increasingly frightening statistics.

[Answer] That is true. Statistics do not even tell the whole story because many accidents are hidden from view. They also gloss over the problem of job-related illnesses. Certain illnesses associated with work are not even considered job-related illnesses. For example, this is true of back sprains among textile workers. The rules are such that the statistics will not be too bad.

But the problem of job safety is really serious enough that directors have completely forgotten about it [sic]. It was once a matter of principle that there is no money for anything but there had to be some for job safety. The director's only problem was how to spend these funds. In the fourth quarter began the race for shoes and shirts just to find a way use up the job safety funds. Whether or not these funds were used well is another question. Now we no longer have them.

[Question] But accidents do not occur because of a lack of shoes and shirts.

[Answer] That is also part of the great problem of humanizing work. We do have to deal with an increasingly thoughtless attitude to workers. Directors complain about a lack of workers but they absolutely do not want to reward the ones they have. This is true not only in state-owned industries but also in the cooperatives and craft guilds. If it were possible, workers would be treated like part of the machine they operate. Fortunately, people are aware enough and know enough about the law to not let themselves be treated that way. In this regard, the unions themselves are not all that necessary.

[Question] Then what is the role of the unions?

[Answer] A hard but unambiguous one. The regulations on job safety are very precisely stated and the authority of the trade unions in this regard is very narrowly defined.

[Question] We were asking about the role of trade unions in the humanization of work.

[Answer] They have an enormous role. This is an incredibly important problem. However, the unions alone can do nothing. The problem begins with education of young cadres and the selection of people for management positions. I once took part in talks connected with advancement. At the table were seated the director and some representatives of the plant aktiv. "Hear now," said the director, "who will we make manager of this or that plant?". "Hmmm...", thought the activists. Then each one proposed one or two names. In the end there were 6-8 names to choose from. This is what a rich cadre we now have! Let no one tell me about cadre reserves, well thought-out work with candidates or advancement policy. It is all fiction. It's the same with director placement competitions. I know how that is done. You know who will win. There is a leader and that is who wins. He has already talked to

the people he needs to talk to and that is what counts. Even the best rivals do not have a chance.

[Question] Do you think that trade unions should have some influence over the appointment of directors and managers?

[Answer] They should. But the advantages of this can only come through if the union representatives can appreciate the problem of humanizing work and therefore be able to evaluate manager candidates on that basis.

[Question] The unions do have their representatives in self-management and can through them influence the selection of management cadres.

[Answer] That is true. The percent of unionists in self-management organs is about the same as it is among the workers, that is, about 20-25 percent. Of course, they can and should represent the union's position but we still do not know how to work with our representatives. It is only that way in our plants. We, that is, the OPZZ, have our representatives in the Sejm Social and Economic Council. There are 12 of them.

[Question] Like the 12 apostles...

[Answer] Exactly. The union organizations should invite these people, meet with them, ask them what they are doing, let them know what problems they should deal with, in other words, they must treat them like our own functionaries. However, we are still unable to do that. We also have our representatives in the people's councils and we cannot discount this fact either. But if it involves some concrete problem, let's preschool space for children, then you go to a friend for advice but that is no solution.

[Question] From what we have so far discussed, it seems that we should conclude that the trade unions have a very weak position in different work places. In practice, no one considers them and they are treated like all unimportant partners.

[Answer] I must say that I am very close to having the same opinion. The trades unions are indeed not seriously regarded by all and they must cut a path for themselves. But that will not happen because the union law was

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updated. Authority is not gained through legislation but on the strength of one's own position and stubbornness.

Legal solutions only clear up certain problems. The people's best weapon is their knowledge and character. A man with character will reach his goals. An example of this is the chairman of the union at the Bierut Steel Mills in Czestochowa, Andrzej Gwiazda, or Jagielak at the Zawiercie Steel Mills. Their organizations have the support and membership of 70 percent of the workers there. They fight uncompromisingly, antagonize nearly everyone but they do it for the good of the workers. They amaze people used to submission but also compel their respect. And they get involved in all sorts of problems, not just the big ones. Their program has included the organization of fishing contests for the steel workers. People are thankful for that because man does not live by work alone.

To conclude, I would like to share some reflections of a general nature. We have complained out hearts out but the fact remains that about 5 million working people belong to the independent self-managing trade unions. I think that this attests not only to the tie to these organizations but also proves recognition for the work we have so far done.

[Question] Is that also not the result of certain means used to entice people to join up?

[Answer] The only incitement to join should be recognition for what we are doing. I was, am and will be a strong opponent of other ways and means of persuading people to join us. No pressure at all can be used. We cannot convince everyone all at once that it is worth joining our unions.

[Question] Mr Chairman, you have a miniature bust of Hiram Cegielski on your desk. Why is there such a cult surrounding this man?

[Answer] I myself am from Poznan but that is not the main reason. Cegielski was a man that under extremely unfavorable circumstances and innumerable difficulties succeeded in making something from nothing. Those are the sort of people we now need.

PZPR Hosts Nationwide Self-Management Meeting

Warsaw TYGODNIK ROBOTNICZY in Polish No 7, Jul 85 pp 16-18

[Article by Bogumil Holda: "Time of Self-Management"]

[Text] Various unbelievers and people doubting the changes of socialist renewal and the progress of social and economic reform are presenting increasingly stronger arguments taken from life and everyday events. The number of these arguments was also increased by a meeting of the first secretary of the Central Committee and premier, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, with a group of 49 representatives of worker's councils at

state-owned firms from all of the different provinces of Poland.

For people familiar with the problem as well as those strongly involved in all that is extremely important to the growth of Poland and the Polish economy, the realization of worker self-management is a type of litmus test. Are we continuing to take the right directions to democratize key areas of our lives, to reach a national agreement with the working class in a dominant position and in struggling with our political opposition? Are we not passing signposts that show us new roads to the memorable events dated by the worker protests of August 1980?

Questions, doubts and even dissension are normal phenomena in the life of our country. We have not been free of difficulties and tensions but our economy which has been reformed for the last three years is finally seeing the light at the end of the tunnel. Those who have been through different stages and seen the ups and downs of the worker self-management movement have the right to ask whether certain bad experiences and certain slogans are being repeated and whether it is turning out to be the case that arrogance, bureaucracy and dry and unquestioned regimentation are not returning.

Opening the latest and not the first (but in different scenery in the Central Committee headquarters with different participants) self-management meeting, It was no coincidence that Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski quoted a fragment of the Resolution of the 9th Extraordinary PZPR Congress, a program for the development of socialist democracy, consolidation of the leading role of the PZPR in socialist construction and the country's social and economic stabilization:

"The Congress stated that the consolidation of socialist democracy particularly demands the creation of worker self-management in firms, worker self-management armed with enough rights to make decisions and monitor work to satisfy the aspirations and needs of workers, especially those in key industrial plants..."

The underpinnings of this formula of such great importance to our government is the idea that the reconstruction and consolidation of trust between society and the government may only occur under the conditions of socialist democracy, the growth of which is indispensable for the socialist political system. The PZPR has become the spokesman for realization of the idea of popular rule, full participation of Polish citizens and especially the working class in ruling the state and managing the national economy.

From the chronicle of various records, one can see the consistency and determination of the highest party and state authorities to continue the direction that we have decided to take. The 3rd Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee was devoted in its entirety to the problem of self-management and independence. The famous "worker's sejm", in other words, the 16th plenary session of the central party instance and the latest 17th plenum were also involved with the problems of self-management. In as much as it is independent, self-management that is more and more often becoming involved in

the self-financing of firms has not been thrown to sink or swim on its own in deep waters. As was pointed out during the meeting, it has strong support in the right commissions such as those of the Central Committee, Sejm and Council of State and similar such commissions are coming into being in the provincial people's councils. Minister Ciosek also has a bureau on worker self-management affairs that is situated within the Bureau of the Council of Ministers.

As we see, there is much good will and helpful attention given to worker's representative organs. In the same spirit, there will in the coming weeks be meetings with worker self-management officials in the various provinces and ministries.

The Central Committee Politburo last week again took up the subject of worker self-management and stressed its importance and permanence: "The worker's councils and their officials are one of the most important pillars of economic reform. The party and state officials support the growth of worker's councils and their influence on production and economic decisions in places of work".

It was no coincidence that following the Politburo meeting the very same day, there was the much-discussed meeting of self-management officials. To put it simply, self-management is a living need, an important trump of social vitalization, an achievement of the human passion to quickly overcome problems and liberate public energies that are our country's richest potential not only for today but also for coming years and the distant future.

The watchword, let the working people more boldly take their problems into their own hands, acquires more urgency not only during worker's council and self-management elections for the second and sometimes even third terms but is also of great significance to the October Sejm elections. In essence, we need a new model for social relations in socialist Poland and we must enrich our program of renewal and rebirth. In this we also find a way to break all forms of impotency and passiveness and the key to a better future which is something that cannot be imagined without a national mobilization of forces.

These truths were driven home in statements by the government plenipotentiary on economic reform, Wladyslaw Baka, the director of the Central Committee Social and Professional Department, Stanislaw Gabrielski and the chairman of the Sejm Commission on Worker Self-Management, Jozef Barecki, and more than 20 other speakers representing worker self-management.

The complicated threads of the systematic streamlining of economic reform and the previous experiences that workers have had in self-management that are not free of certain lapses and imperfections have become entwined with daily problems in the activity of civic leaders. They are a considerable force and a serious potential. Altogether more than 11,000 worker's councils are in operation and they contain more than 130,000 members. Most of the members are workers but one also encounters energetic specialists and they have had a positive influence on the competency of these bodies and their ability to undertake important causes and share in the making of decisions with a full sense of economic prudence and responsibility.

Often controversial statements attest to the fact that the worker's self-management activists are worthy partners not only in their own places of work but that they are also able to see very keenly into national affairs and understand the mechanisms of economic reform, its imperfections and the intricacies of management.

Indeed, the remark was made that "properly chosen" or at least above average worker's council chairmen may be invited to Warsaw. If this were really to be done, it would reveal the chairmen whose example should be followed.

The economic and legal education of self-management activists definitely has a future, especially since changes are being made by the worker's council elections and new people are coming into the councils. However, real experience and knowledge comes from practice and action in the unique "universities of life".

An extremely sympathetic and highly telling characteristic of self-management activists was their earnest position on how the arrangement of relationships and cooperation between trade unions, party organizations and plant management. They have applied common sense, political insight, good ethics and their desire for the good of all to all legislation including the updating of the trade union law. This is most of all a sign of their valuable ability to associate group and local interests with national interests that go beyond matters of their firms.

As we know, it is worthless to give undeserved laurels. For everything that has been achieved, let there be real recognition and well-deserved satisfaction but we cannot close our eyes to existing shortcomings and weaknesses. How much disorder is there still to be found in our industry and firm self-management? We still see pitiful organization and low productivity, sometimes even ordinary conniving, bad management and outright illegal squandering. We often have to pay for the work that still has not been done. For example, there is the alarming fact that in the last few months, the growth in wages has exceeded by many times the growth in labor productivity and this casts some doubts on the main goals of this year's social and economic plan, controlling inflation and balancing the market with the economy. The consequences may be sorrowful. Who needs this?

It is a good thing that these unsettling affairs were not disregarded during the exchange of views and opinions. In his remarks concluding the conference, General Wojciech Jaruzelski said that "Worker self-management must be the guardian of economic realism". For worker self-management to work more efficiently, it must take itself along with the advances of economic reform down to the people, to every production shop and to every work place and every worker. After all, the self-management body is the entire work crew.

Before the meeting had started, one of the self-management activists said in passing in the lobby: "I wonder whether the central authorities know that if they are to overcome the crisis, provide economic growth and increase public

activity, they must strengthen self-management". The meeting showed that they do know this and that we will surely win this battle.

Statements at Self-Management Meeting

Warsaw TYGODNIK ROBOTNICZY in Polish No 32, 11 Aug 85 pp 7-9

[Excerpts] A meeting was held on 23 July between the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and premier, Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, and a group of 49 chairman of worker's self-management councils from state-owned firms of all provinces. In a previous issue of TYGODNIK ROBOTNICZY, we published an article about this important occasion. As we announced, we are now publishing a detailed stenographic record of this meeting and presented the basic content of the speeches and discussions in which 22 worker self-management activists took part.

The meeting was a unique consultation in which opinions were solicited from the most competent persons directly involved in and influencing the production process. The activity of worker's self-management councils is one of the most important and valuable forms of socialist democracy. It is still one more distinct confirmation of the line of socialist renewal, the permanence of the party and the road taken by the 9th Congress.

How They Temper Steel

[Tomasz Kucharski, Lenin Steel Works]

We must free all of the potential that can be found in business itself without expecting someone else to come and solve our problems. We know that we have a shortage of natural gas not because someone did not want to provide it to my firm or that of my colleague but because there really was not enough to go around. In my firm, therefore, we were ready to keep our technological lines in normal operation, that is, as normal as possible so that the equipment would not be damaged or the rolling mill processes not become frozen.

That was the most important thing for us then. If our supplies had somehow been normalized, we would have had to take every measure to above all furnish fittings at the work places that determine the size of our production output.

We had an enormous backlog in the winter and especially the first quarter of the year. To a rather large extent, this backlog has by now been caught up. This really was a matter of somehow normally arranging work incentives and efficiently managing the individual stages of production so we could get our product out, even when it led to reductions in interoperational resources.

Everyone knows that steel is an indispensable material. The Lenin Steel Works produces a certain assortment of steel for the construction industry,

agriculture and everyone else. Telexes and all sorts of reminders show the enormous hunger for steel. On the other hand, no one gives any special consideration on how to conserve it.

Enormous stocks of steel are lying and rusting in the storage yards of more than one firm. There is simply not any coordination between firms with regard to necessary production materials. I therefore propose organization of some form of material exchange.

If Ethics Are Strong Enough

[Jerzy Markowicz, Drilling and Mining Machinery Factory in Gorlice, Nowy Sacz]

It should be an important point for us that the greatest possible number of workers become creatively involved in the economic processes at the firm and show us the shortcomings and errors. As I told colleagues from and from outside of our region, in most of our businesses, we are still stuck on the point of simple reserves.

It is enough to see how our magnificent production halls go to seed in winter and how, let's say, fuel and natural gas is being used in furnaces. There is a series of extremely simple problems...

It seems to me that there continues to be a crazy sensitivity, almost an allergy, among worker's councils to any situation in which they feel that their legal rights are not being respected.

Cooperation between various elements depends above all on the personal ethics of many people. If those ethics are high enough, then despite the fact that there may often be some friction, certain positive principles will be established and fruitfully realized.

Ravaged in the Pocketbook

[Jan Boreczko, Bialystok Furniture Factories]

The firms that in 1982 gave considerable pay increases without tying them to increased productivity are now in the best financial situation. They have achieved a better starting point and do not make payments to the State Fund for Professional Activation [PFAZ]. On the other hand, it is sometimes the case that firms like ours that have tied pay raises to increased productivity rather than to increased product prices are now wrestling with various problems such as low wages and a lack of workers...

I feel that the firms that have tied pay raises to increased productivity and now have low wages should be given assistance in the form of fund exemptions, tax reductions and other preferences.

Firms like furniture factories that produce consumer goods have the hardest time achieving good results since on one hand their material costs have gone up a lot and on the other hand the central distribution of our products has

resulted in a considerable increase in the costs of sale because of insufficient coordination of sales with the supply of materials.

Without Relief Tariff

[Stanislaw Gorny, China and China-Ware Works, Pila Province]

The activity of our worker's council was not and is not a string of successes. We have made mistakes and had failures and are not regarded as being the wisest group in our firm or the ones who best know how to care for the interests of the workers and firm. Self-management is a thing that must be learned and we are still learning. We often fulfill all requirements right from the start. We outline technical and economic tasks, assess their realization, make decisions on permanent property and distribute profits. In other words, we use the authority given us by the law and this this comprises the bulk of our activity.

In spite of our great willingness to work, these activities have not brought us an increase in labor productivity or quality of work. For this reason, we are very dissatisfied with ourselves.

The latest serious attempt to more effectively bring about improvement in the quality and productivity of work was the use of strong economic incentives. The motivational system of wages introduced in December last year did cause a considerable increase in productivity in the first and second months of the year. The effect however was not a lasting one and made itself felt mainly in greater output in terms of measurable quantity.

Nevertheless, introduction of this system made it possible to straighten out certain of the firm's problems and it should be seen in a positive light. The next action was our introduction of extra bonuses to technical supervisors each time that they exceeded a certain level of production.

Our firm is steadily producing. We have good economic results and are regarded as one of the best. We also know that we can still find greater possibilities for improving efficiency and the great amount of talk about grants and tax reductions alarm us...

Export -- the Favored Son

[Genowefa Aulich, Cotex Knitting Industry Plants in Plock]

The level of export production has already reached 50 percent or, in other words, three times that of 1980. This gives us income tax reductions. Export compels business to act more efficiently, organize work well and encourage greater quality and output.

Now and in the future, it is these elements that will determine the further development of the plant and our country. Thanks to export trade, we have an a better list of products and patterns, our products are cheaper and are

demanding by the market. We find this satisfying but this is not a product of our being good-hearted but of our calculated policy.

I mentioned satisfaction with the work done. We are also quite satisfied with the very important matter of the attitude that the members of our work crew have toward the results of production, the activities of certain social, political and professional organizations and finally to the effects of their cooperation. This attitude has recently undergone a certain amount of change. The main reason for this change is the low wages that our plant provides in comparison to the rest of the province, nation and industry.

We are more and more often asked: since we are achieving good results in production, increasing our exports, producing more and have a very low level of employment in nonproductive positions, why do our average salaries fluctuate so much in spite of the income tax reductions? We are falling further and further behind.

Our workers are aware that we must modernize the plant and build new housing which in turn means that we cannot pay the PFAZ. The reason that our average pay varies so much is that we started the economic reform with a very low monthly pay of 5000 zlotys.

Ever Fewer Questions and Doubts

[Jozef Barecki, chairman of the Sejm Commission on Worker Self-Management Affairs]

The discussion has shown that the chief domain of activity by worker self-management at this time is economics. This means that worker self-management has already passed its period of "adjustment" to the regulations of law and there are ever fewer questions and doubts. The questions that still trouble the self-management activists involve the length of their term of office, for example. Our experience to date has shown that there need not be any changes made here.

The same can be said of proposals to update the law on self-management. If we are not to treat it as a set of "dry" regulations but put it to practical use, the problem of updating the law is now a ripe one for discussion. The way in which the law has functioned in several thousand businesses has not shown any need for changes. As the most recent NIK [Supreme Chamber of Control] monitoring of the law's realization has shown, the present state of the execution of the law is much better than before.

Thus, for example, cooperation between self-management organs and other social and political organizations functioning within plants has, after a period of certain confusion and arguments about lines of authority, now worked itself out without problem. A powerful partner for self-management has emerged -- the trade unions. In spite of this, there has not been the predicted confrontation between these organizations. The good will and common sense of the people has won.

The speaker said, "We must also point out the fact that self-management does not always know how to make use of the rights given it by law and especially their established authority. Fairly often, it is only formally that they adopt a resolution on the plan without looking any further into its structure. Self-management is not making sufficient use of its right to monitor".

In response to questions by workers in the self-management councils, the speaker stressed the need for broad representation of the working class in these organs. "We cannot separate ourselves from our lineage, from the roots of self-management," he said. "Self-management has grown out of the will of the working class and its party. Worker participation in management of the means of production could only take place in a socialist state. We cannot limit the participation of workers because any restrictions would deprive worker self-management of its authenticity and negate the sense of its action.

Virtues and Weaknesses of Self-Management

[Stanislaw Gabrielski, director of the PZPR Central Committee Social and Professional Department]

Worker self-management councils are presently functioning in 6387 firms. There exist more than 11,000 worker's councils in which almost 140,000 members are active almost every day. Workers dominate within these councils but there are now also many union members as well. Analysis of the present results of elections to self-management councils in 3000 firms has shown that about 40 percent of the former activists were re-elected. This shows rather significant fluctuation.

The interest of worker self-management in economic problems has grown systematically. It has been estimated that these tendencies have emerged in about 70 percent of the worker councils. On the other hand, about 30 percent of the councils are characterized by passivity and sluggishness or also by excessive concentration on social problems and complaints. There has been observed a growing interest by party organizations in the activity of worker self-management councils. This has set their socialist character and activated the councils to work on improving management efficiency.

Generally visible is an improvement in cooperation between worker self-management and the trade unions. The number of disputes over areas of authority has decreased and interest in cooperation has gone up. We have also observed that the strong self-management councils and trade unions supported by workers are increasingly cooperating in a proper fashion and that has been a benefit both to business and workers.

However, certain negative sides in the activity of self-management councils have also become visible. In some firms, people desiring to introduce elements unfavorable to the interests of the working class sometimes try to take over the councils. This is, however, a fairly marginal phenomenon. Unfavorable phenomena are also periodical tendencies to limit the rights of self-management councils and a refusal to consider their authority. Such attitudes will be consistently eliminated.

We must work to see that the self-management councils become forces encouraging development and growth in management efficiency, improvement of work organization and introduction of scientific and technical progress. This is where their efforts should be concentrated. No less important is the creation of conditions that can broaden worker influence on their firm's activities and encourage active attitudes. Still better training of self-management activists and a better knowledge among them of economics is also indispensable.

Worker self-management arose from the spirit of the 9th Congress and is an institution of socialist renewal. The development of self-management is an idea deeply embedded in the principles of our government and the theory and practice of the party. This is why the policy to strengthen and develop these councils has become a permanent strategy.

Struggling Against Impotency

[Alojzy Sobol, Marcelly Nowotko Steel Works, Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski]

I have the honor of being chairman of the second term of our worker's council, despite the fact that I am a worker and a toolfitter for continuous steel casting but not a party member. The workers at our plant elected me for the next term of office. As far as our achievements go, the most important one is that we have gained control of the situation in our plant repair work. At the recommendation of the worker's council, we have introduced standards for replacement parts and steel foundry equipment. We are doing most of this work on our own. For this goal we have also reserved a proper amount of our production force. We are rebuilding spare parts that would otherwise have to be imported. This is the great achievement of the worker's council.

With regard to self-management as a whole, one must be aware of the fact that simple reserves have come to an end in all of our industry. The worker self-management councils have a great chance to show what they can do this year. There is no trick to management when you have everything you need but it is a trick to manage well when you work under shortages. There are difficulties in the supply of natural gas, charge, scrap metal but in spite of all, we must act faster to keep up with our social and economic planning.

The most important problem that we have now become involved with is changes in the structure of employment. Work in this area has already been finished and by the end of the year we will have made changes improving production processes.

Keeping Their Jobs

[Jerzy Medralla, Predom-Zelmer Mechanical Home Equipment Plants, Rzeszow]

The greatest difficulty in the work of all of the firm's organs under the new conditions are brought about by the old habits of the management. If the directors have already become convinced that reform should be introduced, then

the middle-level management, educated under the old system, cannot seem to get into line with the new ideas and carry out reform in their own departments.

As long as reform does not make its way to the work place and production division, we will not be able to say that it has been completely introduced. It is the work place and the production divisions that will give us the best results.

Let us look at the employment situation within the firm. There are complaints everywhere that in the administration there are useless positions and that it would be better to change the proportion of directly productive workers to nonproductive workers, especially those in the administration.

The worker's council as Zelmer has passed a resolution to reduce the employment of mental workers and nonproductive workers by 10 percent and convert these positions to directly productive work. What happened?

Once the resolution was passed, there was such pressure from the workers that the council had to back off. The one thing that remained after all of this was the director's order that when a worker leaves and no one is hired to replace him, the money that he would normally be paid is distributed among the remaining workers and who assume his responsibilities.

Although this order has already been in effect for 6 months, our firm has not had a single such case...

High-Handedness of a Monopoly

[Jadwiga Roguszczak, Unitra-Toral Electronic Works in Torun]

Realization of a government order theoretically guarantees a supply of materials. Our cooperating partner received from us a million dollars at the end of last year. This comes to 50 percent of the hard-currency investment covering 50 percent of our annual needs. Our partner did not sign any contract with us because he was a self-managed firm. In 5 months, he realized 10 percent of our needs and then informed us of a temporary halt in production.

An alarming letter from our self-management council went simply unanswered. Our plant was saved by an emergency import. To our planned 5 million dollars, we still had to add an extra two million. Is there really not anyone in the ministry of chemistry strong enough to do something about this?

This is also true of material supply and cooperation in other branches of economic life. In my opinion, this comes from the high-handedness which is often identified with self-management.

Does a plant which has invested in the purchase of a license not have the obligation to produce? Being aware of the nationwide program to introduce electronics and automation, should it not think about increasing its production capabilities? These actions must be planned today. Realization of

a program of electronization must assume a guaranteed supply of materials and that be must hold true throughout as much as possible.

What I have just described is the sad case of the Laminat plants which was discussed at every meeting of our council in the first half of this year. This was a life or death matter to us but there was not much that we as a self-management council could do.

We still face our greatest problem. How are to do deal with such a supplier in the future? Maybe an antimonopoly law would help us.

Losses Are Decidedly Too Great

[Wojciech Wolski, Wloclawek Nitrogen Works]

Last winter just did us in. From 1 January to 13 March, our plants like all others in the nitrogen industry were painfully affected by limited supplies of natural gas and fuel oil.

In the final phase, the situation became so bad that practically the entire works came to a standstill. Only the boilers for heating pipelines were operating. Please comrades, let us not fool ourselves into believing that we can make up the losses. Our factories are already working around the clock.

There are only 24 hours to a day and the pipelines can only carry so much material.

Unfortunately, it doesn't help us any to work on free Saturdays, Sundays and holidays. We are working around the clock. Because of its limited production, the firm is losing money from sales. On the other hand, costs have gone down a little but that is mainly because such permanent costs as investment interest, depreciation and taxes amount to nearly 40 percent of our overall costs. Our firm has begun to operate at a loss. It has become a poor partner for the bank and for many of the businesses of those who trust us.

It has turned out that our losses, which have amounted to about 1.5 billion zlotys, are comparable to those of the Pulawy Nitrogen Works which are comparable to those of Oswiecim, Tarnow and Kedzierzyn. At one of our association council meetings, we asked ourselves whether these losses have to be so high. We looked at the problem from a technical and economic perspective and it turned out that it was the unwilling attitude that some people have toward reform that was doing us in. Comrade Premier, how can we operate a modern installation under such conditions? The nation's supply of natural gas should provide for some growth and this is what we expect at our plant.

Plain As Day

[Ryszard Kudlak, Ostroleka Cellulose and Paper Products Works]

Under the centrally dictated system of distribution that we have had up to now, our plant has reached the limit of its production capabilities after 20 years of operation. We have no prospects for growth and our unmodernized stock of machinery has been intensively operated and is deteriorating rapidly.

We have recently devoted much time to the problem of modernizing and realizing a program of restoration throughout our branch. The neglect that this area of our industry has suffered for various reasons must be made up for very quickly. After all, this is what the 22 October 1984 decree by the Presidium of State did order.

An essential barrier has been the lack of executive authority and forces where all of the available private and state-owned firms can be committed to this work. Worker groups are being established in different plants but some of the tasks requiring specialized heavy equipment and highly-trained engineers and technicians can only be performed by certain specialized firms. I am referring to firms such as the assembly and construction firms of the energy industry.

Unfortunately, no one else is in a position to build a soda boiler. That may sound like a paradox but we are thankful that the economic reform piled these problems up in front of us since it has only been under the reform that all of the weak points in the facade of the paper and cellulose industry including those in our plant have been made as plain as day. That allows us, after realization of modernization and development programs, to commit ourselves to the tasks that the entire economy sets before us.

The Workers Should Decide

[Zygmunt Swierszko, The Barka Fishing and Fisheries Service Company in Kolobrzeg]

As of now, we still do not have an excess of prudent and responsible activists that understand the rules of managing people and state property. This problem has been especially noticeable during the economic reform process. In spite of this, this is the right time to give those who want to take active measures for further economic development of our country a chance to use their brief but rich experience for the good of all. Whether one person or another is to be active within a council for one, two or more terms should be decided by the workers themselves who would elect their own representatives in general elections with direct and secret balloting...

I have deep respect for all institutions that are entrusted to monitor the activity of state-owned businesses but I would also like to say that the best censor of the work of the self-management councils is the workers. Every work crew wishes to work calmly, increase the wealth of all Poles and is fully

aware of the fact that its own good work can help meet the needs of the firm and their families.

Today's technology and economic knowledge in the hands of the worker's councils becomes a weapon against stagnation and incapable management. Within its own firm, a worker's council appoints directors through competition. These are therefore all of the good prerequisites for the further good growth of the firm.

Breaking Through the Bureaucracy

[Zbigniew Kastorski, Warta Cement and Lime Productions Combine]

In the case of the worker's self-management council in our firm, there exists the conviction that the achievement of full independence is a difficult and very long process and not one that can be planned at the start of reform. We regard our chief accomplishment to be breaking the bureaucratic habits of the management.

In this case, the reform was properly understood as a process of socialization of firm management. At the same time, in many of our actions we still adhered to the legally guaranteed principle of one-person management of state-owned business. The main difficulties in the activity of the council were and continue to be the social, political and economic situation of the nation, the lack of market equilibrium, limited supplies of raw materials and materials, difficult access to the means of production and spare parts. Distribution of these means on one hand limits realization of yearly plans and on the other hand makes it impossible to introduce a long-term policy for development of the firm and meeting the needs of the workers.

Serious difficulties in the work of the self-management councils and the firm have been created by the unstable legislative situation. The considerable number and changing nature of legal regulations has made it difficult to understand the mechanisms for defining the principles of business activity. Legal regulations, in our opinion, should be unambiguous and as stable as possible. This would certainly help the councils in their everyday work.

Our worker's council has and continues to feel need for partnership with strong trade unions.

A Painful But Necessary Measure

[Wladyslaw Baka, Government Plenipotentiary for Economic Reform]

The problems discussed by the chairmen of worker's councils tend to lead to two basic conclusions. The first is that the reform has revealed the weaknesses of our economy. For that reason, many of the firms that were once prosperous have now found themselves in difficulties and problems. This proves that to a significant degree, they were operated at the expense of others. Reform was a painful but necessary measure. There is no way we can just patch over the holes in our economy or use temporary measures to cover up

shortcomings. The second conclusion is that the economy cannot suffer without firms feeling the effects. Investment, supply and currency problems must be "taken" to businesses because that is where the entire success of our economy is decided. This is a matter of overcoming barriers and making understood the obvious truth that only more efficient management can achieve better results.

The speaker pointed out difficulties in giving all firms an equal chance to carry out reform.

Examining with the problem of wages, he mentioned that 5 new principles for creating wage funds are to be established. These principles will be adapted to the specific problems of individual areas. However, there can be no tolerance for "pay disputes" in firms that have raised wages far beyond any increase in labor productivity. On the other hand, a different view will be taken to the problems of firms that have exhausted all means of increasing their wage funds even though their labor productivity is satisfactory and there are no ways to make it even better.

Government information will soon be published on material and equipment supply. Relatively early announcement of this information will be an important prerequisite to the establishment of future plans in firms. It has been assumed that operational programs and government orders will take up more than a quarter of the supply of raw materials and materials. There will be no possibility of increasing this pool since supply preferences would otherwise make no sense.

We are aware that some of the criticism aimed at us is valid. After considering the experiences described to us today, we know that some of these errors could be avoided whereas others were inevitable. We have accepted certain observations concerning the possibility of better managing our limited production resources during hard times such as the last winter. On the other hand, however, many decisions are the result of firms trying to hide their real capabilities and potential.

Actions by firms to take advantage of weaknesses in the mechanisms of reform in order to achieve immediate and undue profits should be punished. Factories should not be allowed to blackmail each other in the course of cooperative production. The government will soon present a bill for a law against monopolies.

Something for Something

[Stanislaw Baranowski, Zambrowo Cotton Industry Works]

Comrade Gabrielski brought up the matter of the distinction of self-management activists. I will not make any proposals but leave that to others, however, I do feel that we should do something to distinguish self-management activists. It has often been the case that a self-management activist receives much less than a passive person who takes no part in any organization. There is much public work to be done! As far as pay raises go, we should give something for something.

This year we signed an agreement with our ministry under which we are to produce 274 tons of thread because the plant is involved with this type of product and we gave an additional 500,000 meters of fabric. For that we will be able to apply 13 million zlotys to one-time awards. We still have not touched this money because we are still not convinced that we will meet the planned quota. We must make this quite clear to our workers. This is the position that the council has taken.

Another "barrel of fish" is monitoring and remonitoring. They come to the provinces and look at everything under a magnifying glass. Reprimands are given along with rejoinders. Are the penalties not too liberal since the neglect and errors repeat themselves? We often know when the inspectors are coming and everyone rushes around so that the province rate remonitoring.

Barriers and Loss of Patience

[Zenon Chelminski, Janikowo Soda Works, Bydgoszcz province]

I feel that there is no longer any need to discuss whether reform is socialist in character. Thanks to the reform, we have achieved some economic growth. For that simple reason, the reform will continue. However, one can say that despite that, there still is a little impatience. People already want to see great results, forgetting that changing the management system and the habits and style of work is a rather long process.

I am strongly troubled by the problem of employment. Does there exist a barrier to employment and how justifiable is it to claim that there is a race between firms to raise wages or that the firm's growth is more threatened by loss of workers to higher-paying firms than by the allocation of large sums to the PFAZ rather than to development of investments?

This is undoubtedly encouraged by the instability of the regulations on the management system and by the system of grants and exemptions for motivation. I think that neither worker self-management, PZPR plants committees nor the trade unions are not fulfilling their obligations in this area.

The weakness of reform in this area should not be eagerly exploited. In the case of our plant, when the new system of pay was introduced, the large contribution to work made by all organs and social organizations became evident. In everyone's opinion, the best possible system of motivation emerged. However, under pressure from the "race", this system became somewhat distorted after less than a year.

We should not raise wages without thinking. I also feel that the present effects of the PFAZ are questionable but I do not wish to create an atmosphere in which one of the most important tasks is to carefully watch the work of a neighboring plant to find out what his position on the list might be. However, one hears such discussions rather frequently. There is much reflection over how others have juggled their high wages.

He Who Does Not Grease Palms...

[Waldemar Knec, Ilawa Automobile Repair Works]

For us, the most important problem is material supply. Since we have very often made pay raises conditional to work productivity and quality, we cannot look our workers straight in the eye as we once did. How is a one to work hard when there is a miserable supply of steel materials and we often have no supply of spare parts for the motors we rebuild?

But, to put it frankly, some of our contractors demand bribes. This is how they work: "Good, let's sign an agreement to make these parts instead of those others but just send us a kickback from your profits to give our workers who will work after hours to make these parts".

Under the new system of wages, worker pay has begun to stabilize but there were already misunderstandings over the pay for June. Some professional groups demanded materials and full supply. At this time, they simply have lowered salaries.

The next concern is the bank reaction to firms that have full credit. It is true that we are working toward a system of self-financing and allocate rather large amounts to the Business Development Fund but we have estimated that a firm attains full credit status only after 30 years. Banks must simply have a more elastic policy toward the firms that do not have drops in production. They must take a more realistic approach to this matter.

In our firm, even if we set aside our finished products for our contractor, the period of payment is 25 days. And sometimes a firm has a difficult situation.

Up Against a Paradox

[Edmund Taracki, Lublin Pomatec-Falubaz Factory]

We are losing a lot of our workers to other sectors and especially to cooperatives. The labor cooperatives in our region have specialized in exporting workers abroad and this is a very attractive prospect under our present conditions. It is sad that very good specialists and craftsmen must frequently do completely primitive work. They do not stay with us, however, because we are unable to provide them the material conditions they need or the pay they deserve.

However, I have not taken the floor to lament low wages. I would like to bring up the problem that 50 percent of our production is carried out for the textiles machinery industry. We can also produce for export. Minister Baka spoke about creating preferences for export productions. We have been making products for export to both payments-areas since the very start of reform. We now face a paradox in our plant. In view of the great need that Polish light industry has for textile machinery, the Presidium of State decision nr. 7

obligated not only our plant but many others to produce a certain number of machines for the domestic light industries.

We understand the sense of this decision but no one speaks about even partial recompensation for the losses of firms that must limit exports and drop contracts that they have already made.

A Battle Won

[Boguslaw Ginter, POL Gdynia]

The initiator of our self-management council was the plant PZPR committee with the support of all of the firm's organizations including the management. Everyone realized that in the given situation of our firm, self-management would be a great benefit. The workers showed their interest by taking part in voting. In 1983, the matter of worker participation in the elections was the subject of political fighting. And we won this fight in our firm.

I wish to emphasize still one more thing: out of the 49 members of the worker's council elected in 1983, 22 of them are party members. On the average, 25 percent of our work force is party members. Please remember that our elections were universal and secret. The idea of self-management therefore received the support of the nonpartisan workers in our firm.

In the beginning of our council's activities, we were regarded with a certain amount of mistrust from all sides. Some of the party members and workers looked at us very suspiciously.

In our actions we have tried to prove and seem to have succeeded in proving that the worker self-management movement established by the 25 September 1981 law is not camouflaged opposition but I can also tell you that it is not an organization that exists to help the administration in menial and unimportant paperwork. Generally speaking, we can say that the present term of office of our council has been a time for gaining the faith of the workers and the management in the idea of self-management and a period in which self-management organs have become consolidated.

An Unused Factory

[Ryszard Kamasinski, Pafawag, Wroclaw]

Because of the sort of employment problems that we have at this moment, the factory is practically unused. We recently celebrated its 40th anniversary. We have many great accomplishments in the production of railway rolling stock for domestic use and export. I only wish to point out that in its 40 years of operation, Pafawag has produced nearly 2000 electric locomotives, 1500 popular traction sets and 5200 passenger cars. What is striking, especially to the guests that visit our factory, is the low number of workers. The firm's technical capabilities are only 60-percent used. One simply does not see anyone. We are not in a position to deal with a drop in employment.

What causes workers to leave the plant? Studies have shown that wages are important to Pafawag employees. In the first half of the year, we paid our workers an average monthly salary of 20, 140 zlotys. Without profit-sharing, the average salary was 17,995 zlotys.

I would still like to say that Pafawag has not had the good fortune to be modernized as of yet. And this is the factory that put Polish railway transport on its feet!

To make matters worse, a lot of problems are caused by contractors that use their monopolized position to dictate their hard conditions. We will do this or we won't do that because it isn't profitable for someone. We have a large railway stock factory in our own country but then we end up having to import some cars and locomotives and for hard currency, of course.

The Fleet Must Sail

[Leszek Kaminski, Odra State Maritime Enterprise, Szczecin]

In our activities, we depend not only on the opinions of the council members but we also work through the council and commissions. The members of the commission are also members of the present council that are not presently running for re-election. Other activists and highly-esteemed people are also commission members.

One thing may cause concern and that is that our fleet that will very soon require cassation. Our fixed assets make up 48 percent of our total and the fleet is not operated to its full extent.

In spite of their good work, we cannot give our employees the sort of pay raises that will keep up with inflation. For that reason, I feel that the main thing that determines the activity of our people and rank-and-file workers is the action of the reform mechanisms. If at this moment we are working well and even better than before, we have measurable results and use the same old fleet to increase our output, then we should have the possibility of being rewarded for better work. However, that is unfortunately not the case at this point.

We are planning to hold our production and exports at this year's level, despite the fact that the fleet will continue to fall apart and that there will be delays in realizing the government's program.

Our activity is carried out independently by ourselves as a self-management council and we want to buy two ships from abroad. Of course, we will pay for them with fish. About 60 percent of the fish caught will go toward paying the costs of these ships and the remainder to the market.

Sensitive "H"

[Leon Sosinski, Biawena Wool Industry Works, Biala Podlaska]

What sort of things should a worker's council be concerned with? We do not have this dilemma in our firm. Our council simply deals with everything that is important to the firm. Of course, we do not go into details. In many cases, we support the opinions of the trade unions and its decisions on social or housing problems because it is the unions that resolve these matters in detail. We concentrate on the firm's strategy but we do not ignore other areas of concern. This is all the more true as more and more workers are turning to the self-management council as an organ that can do many things.

Factory housing and the recovery of factory housing is turning everything upside down. Many workers that are no longer our employees have received factory housing. We cannot recover these apartments. My opinion on this problem was as follows: we must consider the possibility of the firms hiring a worker transferring the construction costs of a given house in current prices or having the employee buy this house under the understanding that his firm will pay him back. The plant will then have the resources to restore housing and build new apartment houses.

Like wages, this is an especially important and sensitive problem. This year we have begun to build a block of rotating apartments but this will not at all meet our employees' housing needs.

They Are Not Wringing Their Hands

[Jan Jaskulski, Myszkow Metallurgical Works]

A negative phenomenon that has recently appeared in our plant is the poor relation between pay and work productivity. We noticed this problem and came to the conclusion that we must accept extra exports to equalize this poor relation.

With regard to the performance of our tasks for the first half of this year, our tasks have been 100-percent fulfilled both in terms of their value and assortment, despite the unfavorable atmospheric conditions which have particularly made themselves felt in the foundries and casting shops. We did not stand around wringing our hand. Our cooperating partners do not have debts. Our foreign customers should also be satisfied.

I will not speak about the legal obligations of self-management and worker's councils because everyone knows these. But a problem that has been hard for our self-management council to solve in our firm is sick leave and work discipline. Some problems with unjustified sick leave should be regulated with the participation of the trade unions because the half-measures that the self-management and worker's council have been taking will not amount to much.

Against Fiction and Compromise

[Henryk Nowocien, Warynski Construction Machinery Works, Warsaw]

People are happy in our plant and not only because the chairman of the worker's council was in the group that initiated the creation of a new trade union and therefore has his own point of view on that union. We have passed a certain point at which the worker's council and the authority of the trade union end. It seems that we have done this in a prudent manner. The union can demand much and the council can give what it has.

So far they haven't become upset with us and understand us quite well.

There is still the question of economic education of the council members. We must tell the truth and try to explain it. Let me recall an anecdote: at a meeting of the worker's council, we were discussing how much we can allot for worker raises and the sum that my group and another certain group arrived at was the same. After all of our calculations, the sum fluctuated by about 5 million zlotys. One member of our council stood up and said: "I propose that we ask for 50 million. Perhaps the director will then give us 20 million".

Some activists must be told that if they are not truthful they will compromise themselves as activists.

12261

CSO: 2600/35

ECONOMY

YUGOSLAVIA

UNPROFITABLE YUGOSLAV ENTERPRISES OPERATING ABROAD

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Dec 85 p 4

[Text] The number of Yugoslav enterprises, plants, work and business units operating abroad has increased also this year but this has not been reflected in a growth of exports or profit. Judging from the data of the SDK (Yugoslav Social Accounting Service), one could rather say that the efficiency and profitability of operations are worsening, and losses are taking away most of the profits earned.

In the first half of this year 1,761 enterprises, plants, branch and representative offices, and construction sites were located in 94 countries. This is 18 more than existed last year at that time. Through export of goods and services these organizations earned 361.1 billion dinars (86 percent more than last year) and imported 173.4 billion dinars [worth of goods and services] (95 percent more). According to SDK experts, these results are unsatisfactory because their share of exports compared to that of the total economy fell 3.4 percent below that in the first half of 1984.

The coverage of imports by exports also fell. Adding to this gloomy picture of the operation of these organizations is the fact that the net income distributed by them was 17.3 percent (or 13.2 billion dinars) more than they earned. Considering that personal earnings account for 99.8 percent of distributed income, this part of the loss is exclusively the result of uncovered personal earnings.

Almost one-third of the total number of enterprises and plants (1,017) finished the first half of this year with losses amounting to 30.5 billion dinars or over twice that of last year. Losses are 69 percent higher than the profits brought into the country. Earnings (amounting to 34.3 billion dinars) are double those of last year but only somewhat more than one-half are brought into Yugoslavia.

High losses are largely the result of uncollected payments, amounting to 187.2 billion dinars, or one-quarter of the value of goods and services paid for.

In all these Yugoslav business [agencies] and production units abroad 62,068 workers were employed [in this period], or just one-half of 1 percent less than in 1984. Their average personal [monthly] earnings amounted to 165,883

dinars. The pay of these workers increased by 53 percent [over 1984], or somewhat slower than in Yugoslavia where personal earnings increased by 64 percent in this period but where the average income was 32,573 dinars.

The SDK noted that such large differences in earnings contribute to the fact that those working outside the country try to prolong their stay as long as possible and this also often explains the resistance to reorganizing the [business] network abroad.

/9274

CSO: 2800/99

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

INCREASE IN PRESSURE ON CHURCH IN CSSR

Frankfurt FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 10 Dec 85 p 7

[Article by Paul Heller: "Have the Middle Ages Returned?"]

[Text] If one takes seriously the editorial introduction to remarks by the highest functionary of the government church administration in Czechoslovakia, Vladimir Janku, in TVORBA (published by the party leadership in Prague as a weekly journal for politics, science and culture) in Nr. 42 of 16 October 1985, then medieval times have returned to the life of the churches and religious communities. It is based on the claim that "militant circles of imperialism, with the United States at their head," are trying to use the churches for their policy of global confrontation, while on the other hand, church representatives are joining the ranks of peace fighters.

Janku's subsequent remarks deal with present church policy, although to begin with, he goes back to the first years of communist rule in Czechoslovakia with the statement that the Catholic Church in particular had difficulties at that time in finding its way. Janku does not mention that the party leadership at the time demanded the bishops' public approval of the changes that had occurred and were announced, with all their consequences. The bishops refused, but stated they were willing to cooperate with all their strength in building the country for the welfare of the people, and to influence the faithful in this sense. The unfulfillable demand of the state had made it difficult for the bishops to find their way among the new political developments, just as the new rulers had a difficult time of imposing their rule on the predominantly Catholic country.

Janku dumps the "historic truth" of the church on the rubbish pile; on socialism he places the obligation to "lead men to spiritual truth, to strengthen science and the intellect," to a socialism which "does not permit abuse of noble sentiments." The claims and demands of conscience, perhaps of a faithful teacher, are also "noble sentiments," and yet, they are constantly abused. And "noble sentiments" of religiously oriented parents are systematically violated in Czechoslovakia today, since parents must witness helplessly how their children are led toward atheism in the schools and even kindergartens. The personal religious feelings and Christian attitude toward life of architecture student Pavel Svanda were

also based on "noble sentiments," but they led to his murder nevertheless. It would be a service to "historical truth" if Janku were to have it established one day how many faithful men, women, youths, priests, monks and nuns, because of their "noble sentiments" of faith and allegiance to the church, were disadvantaged at their place of work, in their position in society, in their training; who were marched into prisons, suffered inhumane treatment, and died there, miserably.

It sounds good when Gustav Husak, president and general party secretary, maybe tells the faithful citizens that most of them, by far, are integrated in the reconstruction work of their country. The citizens are not free to realize their religious faith in their lives, if it goes beyond participation in an act of worship; and frequently, even such participation is a reason for discrimination and disadvantage.

Janku's report computes the funds the state contributes to the church. But a closer look shows a different result. Before the state assumed this obligation, all the property of the Catholic Church, its monasteries, schools and other establishments was confiscated. One must also include how much the state took over in former religious funds, all confiscated church property, of which it still has usufruct. State expenditures for old and ailing priests and nuns are no greater than for other citizens. A civilized nation should not present the sometimes large expenditures for historically and artistically valuable church structures as charity to the churches; it also has cultural obligations of its own.

Janku then mentions the "positive tendencies" in the mutual relations between state and churches. If one applies this statement to the background of the relationship between the state and the Catholic Church, its frightening emptiness becomes evident. The picture is not brightened by the fact that talks between the two partners have been held since 1963, which have been unsuccessful overall, with the exception of the arduous compromise of 1973, dearly paid for, and the boundary settlements of a few dioceses 5 years later. There are still many points which were raised time and again by the Holy See: for example, vacant bishops' sees (10 out of 13); the obstacles raised against admission to holy orders; training of future priests hindered by the state (it is unique in today's world that a government ordinance--Nr. 112 of 14 July 1950--stipulates: "Study and examination orders, syllabi and acceptance procedures for students of theology are determined by the state church office, taking into account the proposals of the faculty council and of representatives of the churches concerned"); obstruction of teaching of religion; the outlawing of religious orders; numerous demonstrable cases of discrimination against faithful citizens.

Janku considers the "positive tendencies" disturbed. "Reactionary centers in the West are trying to foment church activities on an anti-socialist platform as opposition forces against socialist society. They want to cause unrest, provoke tensions, and, as they themselves say, foment a 'permanent war' against socialist states." For this reason, Janku says, they had been less interested in Cardinal Casarolis' appearance at the

festivities, although it had contained "much of the Vatican and deeply Roman Catholic elements; rather, they had shown more interest in the conflicts in Velehrad. Reports by participants say nothing about "conflicts," but state that party functionaries there, among them especially Minister Klusak, in charge of church affairs, in addition to applause also had to accept open, loud and lasting objections by the disciplined and objective crowd.

Janku speaks of an "invitation to the Vatican state secretary by the government of Czechoslovakia." Although not all of the details are clear even today--there was something strange about this "invitation" by the Prague government. Did it not come after the formal request for an entry permit for Cardinal Casaroli? Why was it issued so late?

In this context, one must see as positive for the future a statement by the highest state church supervisor: "Not even relations between Czechoslovakia and the Vatican can be built on confrontation, but solely on mutual respect..." And he adds: "The results between highest Czech representatives and Cardinal state secretary Casaroli could mean a certain, concrete, positive step forward if further contacts are continued in the same correct spirit and in mutual respect." The coming months will show what is behind Janku's words: "On the part of Czechoslovakia, there is unequivocal interest and sufficient good will." An agreement, at least on filling the vacant bishops' sees and some other questions important for the Catholic Church, would be desirable.

But next to this fragile glimmer of hope, there are storm clouds on the horizon of Prague church policy. An influential functionary in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Vasil Bejda (department chief, but listed here only as journalist), is pushing them along in his article, "Where is the Vatican going?", in the monthly journal QUESTIONS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM (September 1985 issue), in order to darken the horizon of church policy. In an article in TRIBUNA of 20 February 1985 (weekly journal for ideology and policy, also published by the party Central Committee), Bejda pursued "topical questions of ideological work." His concern was to "separate those faithful, who honestly work for socialism, from their religious illusions through thought-out and intensive efforts and with all ideological means."

In his later article, his horizon has widened. He is now dealing with the "present imperialistic instigators and organizers of a crusade against socialism who, in this manner, want to surround their unjust system with a halo" and therefore "rely on religious circles;" thus they want to ensure "moral credit" for themselves. It is U.S. President Reagan who "plays this religious card" and who wants to assign "a leading role to the right representative of the Vatican." Pope John Paul II. is not continuing the policy of his predecessors, John XXIII. and Paul VI.; he is "a conservative church functionary of openly right-wing character." His efforts for a "renewal of religion" are primarily of a political nature, since they are "accompanied by interference of rightist church circles in state affairs." As proof of "interference," Bejda cites the fight over free

schools in France. It is the Pope's "new Ostpolitik." According to Bejda, there is also a "political Reagan-Wojtyla alliance," and for this reason, the Pope receives "specially prepared information," particularly on events in socialist countries.

Bejda then summarizes: "In the overall context of the role played by the Vatican on the side of the imperialist reaction in a world presently split along class lines, one can correctly understand its policy directed against the countries of the socialist community, including Czechoslovakia." Because other attempts have failed, such as for a "renewal of democracy" or "better socialism", the "enemies of socialism have come to the conclusion that the only thing they could arbitrarily use for their own political goals is the church, and the faithful. Our country became the target of hate-filled attacks by anti-communism. Fantastic stories are spread about intensively that supposedly there is 'religious bondage' in Czechoslovakia, that 'religion and church are suppressed by force.'" For Bejda, all this is a "falsification of the undeniable facts of freedom of religious avowal of faith; it is nothing but the attempt to reinterpret content and methods of the realization of our goal, namely, expansion of social liberation of men to their total spiritual liberation."

Bejda also foresees an attack on Czechoslovakia by the Vatican leadership from a different direction. "The goal is set high. Namely, they want to make the Catholic Church into a political center of anti-socialist opposition. The plans, which combined this goal at first with an isolated little group of so-called dissidents, have obviously failed. All the more active attempts are being made to include the Catholic Church in actions aimed at weakening and destabilizing socialism."

This confirms the version which is discussed in whispers by the country's functionaries: that too much attention was given in recent years to fighting the civil rights movement, "Charta '77," and that the move by many people to religion, faith and church adherence had been neglected.

Does this mean a change in strategy vis-a-vis the Catholic Church? The upcoming talks between Prague and the Holy See will provide information; but they will also be a touchstone for how much there is of the stated "good will" to permit this church in Czechoslovakia to preserve its essential structures and content, and to allow it unhindered fulfillment of its mission.

9917

CSO: 2300/100

POLITICS

HUNGARY

CSCE CULTURAL FORUM REFLECTING EUROPEAN REALITY

Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 1 Dec 85 p 1

[Editorial: "Measure of Six Weeks"]

[Text] Two years ago when the signers of the Helsinki closing document, the representatives of 33 European and two North American states, decided in Madrid to convene a meeting of the European cultural forum, they did not keep their goal a secret: that the Budapest conference should advance the process of European security and cooperation. And now the time has come to face the facts: have they actualized their decision of that time?

The experiences of 6 weeks offer the answer. During this time the delegates of 35 countries accomplished pioneer work, in many respects, at the Budapest Congress Center. First they held a conference during which they discussed the questions of cultural creative activity, distribution, and cooperation, in the interest of actualizing the Helsinki closing document. It was the first time that besides diplomats, creators active in the area of culture, writers, artists, stage managers, actors, musicians, the leaders of artistic and public educational institutions, men of letters, art critics, and esthetes participated in the work of such a conference. And it was the first time that a member state of the Warsaw Pact sponsored such a forum.

The forum was also a broader than any up to this time, professional exchange of experience. The participants could discuss the timely questions of fine and applied arts, architecture and historic preservation, performing arts, film, radio and television, literature, book publishing and literary translation, as well as the possibilities of furthering the mutual learning of each other's culture and cooperation relating to cultural inheritance.

Knowing all this it is our opinion that the representatives of 35 countries can look at themselves of two years ago with pride. They have actualized the content of what they had decided: the Budapest cultural forum accomplished successful work both politically and professionally. Politically because it contributed to the promotion of European dialogue. Its professional value is that it strengthened the awareness of common cultural values uniting the European peoples, and the participants, primarily the first-rate individuals of cultural life, spread numerous predictions which target the cultivation and enrichment of European and world culture.

What we have discussed so far is the fruit of the past 6 weeks, and every delegation can lay this before its government and total public opinion with satisfaction, even if the forum didn't, and couldn't solve many things. For example, it could not make itself independent of ideological and political differences of opinion among participating states with different social systems. And it couldn't overcome the lack of political purpose needed for the adoption of a substantial closing document. It could not rise above the fact that the delegates of countries belonging to different social systems and cultural regions have differing views on the functions of culture and cultural politics and its tasks; they represent differing views of creative freedom, in the area of culture the enforcement of human rights, on cultural rights and values, the role of the state, that is the individual. It brought about these contradictions, and in places increased confrontation in the forum's work. But this is nothing more than the influence of European political and ideological realities on the forum. And who would have seriously thought that the noise of Europe wouldn't be heard in the conference rooms?

However in this noise (to continue in style), the cultural forum hit a good note. To quote the words of Bela Kopeczi, it expressed those "most humanistic ambitions, which are present today in literature, the arts and sciences, in every region of Europe, and about which so many verbal examples were given by the writers, artists and scientists speaking at the forum." That is precisely why the leader of the Hungarian delegation was totally justified in calling upon the representatives of the governments present not to allow the spirit of the conference to be falsified, not to let differences be overemphasized and the role of cooperation be underestimated.

Perhaps it is not selfish to state that our country also gained many benefits from the cultural forum. It was good to hear the many appreciative words that Hungarian hosts received for the unusual exceptions and conditions extended during the organization of the conference and for their organizational work. But our gain is far greater than this. The representatives of 35 countries gained insight into our country's weekdays, into Hungarian cultural life and--they let us know--they left Hungary with good impressions. This was fed by the Hungarian delegation's activity, which was commissioned to do everything in its power to strengthen substantial and mutually beneficial exchange of ideas and European cultural cooperation. Working hard, it earned its partners' acknowledgement.

After 6 weeks, years of work are needed, so that the forum's results may truly influence the political and cultural life of Europe. For this is the Helsinki process, on weekdays.

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CSO: 2500/109

POLITICS

POLAND

PZPR POLITBURO MEETS

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Nov 85 p 1

[Excerpts] On 19 November, the PZPR Politburo discussed the implementation of the savings program in the years 1983-85 and the main targets in this respect up to the year 1990. The government program of economies elaborated in the wake of the resolution of the 10th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee is an integral part of the National Socioeconomic Plan.

An analysis of the implementation of the government program of economies shows that in the years 1983-85 the lowering of unit energy and materials consumption was greater than anticipated. Consumption, however, remained high. Industries demand for energy has not been reduced. In some industries, e.g., the construction industry, it is still common for materials to be used wastefully.

It was emphasized that in the years 1986-90, two-thirds of the growth of industrial production and the national income must be achieved through a reduction of the consumption of energy and materials. To this end, it is necessary to spread the awareness of motivational systems stimulating the workers to seek economies. It is necessary to introduce changes more boldly in the structure of industry and to apply modern technical and technological solutions. Savings of materials and energy should be viewed as one of the basic sources of production growth. It is important to make better use of recyclable materials and waste byproducts.

It is essential to use all the possibilities of making economies in institutions and enterprises through economic and organizational changes, through firmly counteracting waste and lavish spending, including excessive growth of administrative personnel and especially of managerial posts in state-run organizations, cooperatives, public services and social organizations. Greater economies are needed in planning foreign trips as well as in promotion programs and business expenses. There must be greater discipline and responsibility in this respect.

This should be achieved by the joint efforts of the management, the party branches, trade union and social organizations, self-management bodies and local administration. It is especially important to counteract firmly any endeavors to doctor reports and take credit for fictitious economy moves. There must be no forbearance for incompetence, waste, mismanagement and lack of discipline.

Referring to the First Secretary's statement at the 22d Plenum of the CC, the Politburo emphasized that the habit of saving and the skills of national management are not sufficiently deeply rooted in Polish consciousness.

It is important to change this state of affairs as quickly as possible. Saving is an imperative of civilization strictly observed in all developed countries. In the Polish economy it becomes one of the decisive factors in the improvement of the standard of living of society and the individual and in the successful attainment of the targets of the next five-year plan. One should not stop short or even very radical moves conducive to savings and should keep comparing cost to effect. [as printed]

It was decided that in the future the Politburo will hold an extraordinary meeting to examine reports submitted by the Supreme Board of Inspection and the Worker-Peasant Inspection teams on the subject of economies. The same should apply to the government and the voivodship party committees and voivodship offices. These appraisals will serve as a basis for drawing appropriate conclusions, including personnel ones.

The Politburo asked the government and appropriate state institutions to carefully monitor those areas of socioeconomic life in which irregularities occur, especially the wasting of human effort, working time, materials and energy.

The Politburo approved the proposed new moves to combat negative phenomena in the economy, prepared by the CC Economic Department and the Supreme Board of Inspection.

The Politburo looked at the problems of the younger generation. It reviewed the implementation of those decisions of the 9th Plenum which emphasized the importance of education through work.

The Politburo reviewed various initiatives of youth groups. In particular, it discussed the problems of youth housing cooperatives.

The Politburo emphasized the need for greater activity by youth groups. This is an urgent task for the socialist youth unions. Youth, with characteristic uncompromising, bold approach and energy, should become a particularly vigorous participant in the front of the struggle against the evil that still can be encountered in various domains. Together, it is necessary to look for realistic possibilities for launching new undertakings, which would be right from the point of view of the interest of the public and efficient from the economic point of view, both for the employer and for youth itself.

The Politburo supported the idea of socialist youth unions taking up economic activities in order to increase their own funds needed for financing their programmatic activities.

The Politburo studied the results of consultations over the draft act on increasing the participation of youth in the sociopolitical, economic and cultural life of the country. In the course of the consultations, carried out by youth organizations, some 1,250 varied opinions were collected. They will be used during the work on the draft of the act, which will be submitted to the Sejm, as required by the resolution of the 9th Plenum of the Central Committee.

The Politburo positively assessed a draft bill that would help increase the enterprise welfare and housing funds. (PAP)

/8309

CSO: 2020/49

POLITICS

POLAND

NEW COUNCIL OF MINISTERS MEETS

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 16-17 Nov 85 p 1

[Text] The new Council of Ministers, elected recently by the Sejm, held its first meeting on 12 November.

The meeting was opened by Premier Zbigniew Messner, who announced a creative continuation of the policy of the previous government headed by General Wojciech Jaruzelski. The government will use past experience, especially with regard to solving problems connected with the living standard of the population and the development of the national economy. The methods of functioning of the central and local administration bodies will be further improved, with a view to increasing their efficiency.

The Government Presidium was formed. Next to the premier and the vice premiers, it includes minister Michal Janiszewski, head of the Office of the Council of Ministers, Minister of Finance Stanislaw Nieckarz, and Minister of Labor, Pay and Social Security Stanislaw Gebala. The responsibilities of members of the Government Presidium were defined, and Vice Premier Zbigniew Szalajda was again entrusted with the chairmanship of the Government Committee for Science and Technological Progress.

The lines of the government's work in the coming months were also discussed. These follow from the premier's Sejm speech and earlier plans, as well as conclusions from the election campaign. Shortly, the government is to submit to the Sejm draft bills regarding the pension scheme, health protection, collective agreements and state forestry enterprises.

The Council of Ministers passed an executive order on the establishment of the post of secretary of state in those offices whose terms of reference have been considerably broadened. The government was informed of the prime minister's regulation regarding the implementation of the changes in the structure and scope of some central state administration bodies, enacted by the Sejm on 12 November. The organizational works are to be completed by the end of the year.

After examining appropriate documents supplied by the chairman of the Planning Commission, the minister of finance and the president of the National Bank of Poland and opinions supplied by the All-Poland Trades Union Alliance, farmers' organizations and the Consultative Economic Council, the Council of Ministers adopted the Central Annual Plan for 1986, along with a draft of the state budget, the balance of payments, the credit plan and the draft balance for the population's income and expenditure for 1986. The annual plan corresponds to the conception of the National Socioeconomic Plan for the years 1986-1990, adopted by the Sejm.

Gross national income is to increase by 3.2-3.5 percent. Due to the limited growth of production supplies and labor, the attainment of this goal will call for an improvement in productivity. Unit consumption of materials should drop by 1.8 percent, unit consumption of energy by some 3 percent, while productivity should rise by 3.5 percent. Such a growth of the national income will make it possible for per capita consumption to increase by 1.6 percent.

The Central Annual Plan specifies the main tasks in the area of scientific and technological progress and applications, undertakings aimed at the introduction of further structural changes and moves designed to lower unit consumption of energy and materials.

The draft budget and balance of payments take into account the difficult situation in the budgeted area, despite the fact that the 1985 budget deficit will in the end be lower than anticipated. The draft budget envisages a gradual normalization of the financial situation in 1986. As has been the case in the last 6 years, the state budget for 1986 will show a deficit, the most important method of reducing the deficit will be the stimulation of production growth and improved profitability of production. The main lines of the financial policy will also include the facilitation of the flow of funds earmarked for investments between enterprises, incentives to structural changes in the economy, rewards for the growth of efficiency and the restoration of equilibrium in financial relations with other countries.

The Council of Ministers has approved a bill on the establishment of a foreign debt servicing fund. The fund in zloty should make it possible to secure the indispensable foreign exchange for repaying principal and interest on foreign credits. The main assets of the fund will be contributions from state-owned enterprises.

In 1986, credits will be available first to those enterprises whose performance guarantees a timely repayment of all the money.

The Council of Ministers also examined a plan for using the Central Culture Development Fund for 1986, which, at 63 billion zloty, will be over 6 percent higher than in 1985. The drafts will be submitted to the Sejm for approval....

The Council of Ministers adopted the drafts of legal acts specifying the goods and services sold at official and regulated prices.

It is proposed to limit the number of goods and services embraced by official prices, owing to the growth of production and their improved availability. On the other hand, railway fares, freight rates and postal services are to be added to the list.

Some light industry products will be taken off the list of goods sold at regulated prices.

The draft document has been forwarded to the Sejm.

The Council of Ministers examined a draft law on the detailed principles of the creation and use of centralized funds for the development of science and technology.

The Council also approved proposed changes in the law on private trade. The aim of the changes is to secure funds for welfare activity and assistance in the satisfaction of housing needs of employees of private firms.

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CSO: 2020/49

POLITICS

POLAND

NEW GOVERNMENT MEMBERS PRESS CONFERENCE

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 16-17 Nov 85 p 1

[Text] Directly after the new Council of Ministers' first meeting, the newly appointed government members met with the press to present short declarations concerning their future activity.

Michal Janiszewski, head of the Council of Ministers Office: "The office of which I am head has extended its activity and at present handles all personnel affairs in the state administration, from training to promotion. One of my objectives is to create conditions for the consolidation of democracy and self-management and for using the advantages thus created in a responsible way. In its new structure, the Office of the Council of Ministers supervises administration at all levels--from small offices to voivods who represent the government at local level. The purpose of the reorganization was to develop the role of administration as society's servant, to improve the quality of its work, guarantee the observance of law and firmly oppose all intensitivity in contacts between the administration and the people."

Marian Orzechowski, minister of foreign affairs: "The priorities of Poland's foreign policy have not changed for the last 40 years. Premier Messner stressed this fact in his Sejm address. These priorities derive from ideas and aims which themselves are the logical expression of our experience. Our foreign policy is founded on a consolidation of the alliance with the Soviet Union while the strengthening of the all-round Polish-Soviet relationship is our supreme objective. We will also develop and enrich our relations with the other socialist countries and at the same time will remain open to cooperation with the rest of the world. Premier Jaruzelski discussed this issue extensively in his memorable U.N. address. We believe that the consolidation of peace and security and the endeavor to make the world realize the horrors of a nuclear war and its international consequences are matters of supreme importance. All states can and should contribute to this cause and Poland is particularly predestined to do so as the country which suffered so tragically in World War II."

Andrzej Wojcik, foreign trade minister: "Let me remind you that my ministry works in specific conditions caused by Poland's economic situation. I believe a growth of exports to be the most important matter for the economy and the public, as this determines the rate of economic recovery and debt repayment. The problem, however, is not an automatic increase of exports, but export profitability, and preference for the most profitable trade exchanges. Public attitudes must change. At present they suspect the export system, as taking

out of Poland goods which are needed here. No contemporary state can grow without exports and we, the Poles, must understand this."

Jerzy Jozwiak, minister of distribution and services: "I have the great difficulty choosing between problems all of which are important to consumers. Of the many important matters, the main problem to be dealt with should be how to supply more food and consumer goods to the market. A better organization of labor in the trade, transport and distribution sectors is equally important, as it will lead to the proper management of goods produced by the food and other industries, easier work for sales clerks, and better services for customers.

Mirosław Cybulko, minister of health and welfare: "Care for the health of our citizens does not depend solely on the ministry I now head, but also on society itself, and on its health culture and hygiene. I believe that the doctor has only a 30-percent influence on the patient's condition. The rest depends on the patient's circumstances and on him or herself. Nevertheless, the health service should improve its performance as soon as possible. I already have certain ideas, but it is too early to speak about them. I shall give special attention to such problems as the shortage of medicines and the need to economize on them, the manufacturing of equipment and apparatus, and the development of the medical infrastructure. Also, we will do our best to encourage a full respect for the laws which fight against social evils, because the state of society's health depends on these as well."

Józef Niewiadomski, minister of construction, Land Use and Municipal services: "I am aware that people will carefully watch the ministry I now head. This is a new ministry, created by combining several others. I believe that to increase the number of apartments depends, in equal measure, on the number of the newly-erected houses and the efficiency of renovations. I shall treat these two tasks as equally important. Meanwhile, my ministry will concentrate, above all, on assisting voivods in their respective initiatives and programs aimed at accelerating the pace of building new settlements."

Joanna Michałowska-Gumowska, minister of education: "The main question my ministry faces is who, and in what manner and conditions, are those who educate our youth. The reformed program, and care for not only the quality of the teachers, but also for their material circumstances will provide an answer to these questions. I need not mention the major investments which lie ahead for the Education Ministry. I think that no important educational problems can be solved without the overall cooperation of society. School attracts attention and is of deep concern to all, parents, teachers and pupils themselves. That is why I intend to do my best to carry out the program of the National School Aid Campaign."

Aleksander Kwasniewski, minister, member of the Council of Ministers in charge of the problems of the youth: "My first, unfortunately sad, observation is that I must now attend many more debates. My most urgent business is to

carefully study the government program adopted a few years ago for the improvement of the living conditions of young people and their start in life. The program contains nearly 200 decisions and plans. We must discard those that are no longer relevant and those that are unrealistic, while settling energetically about the implementation of those which are both needed and feasible. Personally, I believe that it is impossible to break a deadlock without relying on the initiative of the young themselves, who are full of various initiatives. We must pick them out, give them direction and, needless to say, help them."

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CSO: 2020/49

10 January 1986

POLITICS

POLAND

CONSTITUTIONAL, STATE TRIBUNAL MEMBERS NOMINATED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Nov 85 p 1

[Text] On 20 November, the Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski nominated the Constitutional Tribunal members. During the ceremony he pointed out that this was the first tribunal in the history of People's Poland and that it had been established to ensure that new laws are consistent with the Constitution.

"Although the need for such consistency is among the fundamentals of Poland's legal doctrine, this has not always been reflected in the state authorities' activities," the speaker said. "The creation of institutional guarantees against inconsistency between the Constitution, and the law of the land in general, and the normative acts, particularly those issued by the state administration bodies, will foster the development of socialist democracy and a more effective implementation of significant goals, such as the economic reform."

Members of the Constitutional Tribunal then took an oath.

On the same day Roman Malinowski nominated members of the Tribunal of State. The Sejm Speaker stressed the role of the Tribunal of State as one of the institutions within the system designed to ensure that people holding top state offices are personally responsible for exercising their powers in accordance with the Constitution and the basic laws. The working people in Poland want to be certain that the assets created by their joint effort will not be wasted due to someone's inefficiency or ill will. The speaker pointed out that a lot has been done in the area of meeting public expectations, developing socialist democracy and reinforcing law and order in the country, but there is no doubt that these processes have to be continued. "The 9th Sejm will consistently act toward this goal," the speaker stressed.

Deputy Sejm Speakers were present at both meetings.

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POLITICS

POLAND

COMMENTS ON WORK EVASION LAW

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 2 Nov 85 p 4

[Article by Stanislaw Podemski]

[Text] Last October marked the 3d anniversary of the adoption of the law on work evasion and a heated Sejm debate on this subject.

Just like any other of the several hundred laws, this one too, does not exist solely on paper, nevertheless it has only aroused the interest of those directly involved namely, work evaders, labor exchanges, the militia and misdemeanor courts. The law's dull existence has been interrupted, however, by two events. At one of his weekly press conference, the government spokesman mentioned various planned amendments to the law and at some public meetings the so-called loafers "have been rising from the dead" as the prime cause of all evil in Poland. This myth is very strongly believed within Poland and nothing--in particular balanced argument--is capable of undermining it.

It is worthwhile taking a closer look at this law which, though it has just been passed, has nevertheless been criticized by some people guided by the conviction that it is enough to add or amend a number of paragraphs on hard work to eliminate all idleness.

What has become obvious now that 3 years have elapsed since the law's adoption? It is particularly interesting to see that the actual number of work evaders has remained low. While in 1982 the head of a militia department in charge of these matters informed POLITYKA readers (issue 26/82) that "up to the end of April 1982, labor exchanges registered 134,027 male work evaders (the duty to work resulted at that time from martial law regulations), on 30 April 1985, their number totaled 140,126. So there is practically no difference between these two figures and both now and then the total number of registered work evaders totals less than 1 percent of all employees. Neither has the so-called "loafing geography" changed. The same voivodships as in 1982, namely the Lodz, Gdansk, Warsaw and Wroclaw voivodships still top the work-evasion list. The only change being Katowice which has taken the place of the Wloclawek voivodship. The results of administrative pressure on work evaders are also similar to those of 3 years ago. In 1982, 64 percent of the people who received work summons took up the jobs; in 1985, the figure was 62 percent. The remaining 30,000 people were either sick or imprisoned or it was not known if they were working or not since the employees did not supply the relevant information to labor exchanges.

What is of crucial importance for enterprises and society (not to mention the families of the people in question) is the quality of the work of those who decide they will turn up for work. A report published in the middle of the year by the Ministry of Labor, Pay and Social Security put it bluntly:

"Most enterprises expressed a negative opinion about the performance of men sent to work within the framework of the law because they did not discharge their duties properly, they easily got involved in conflicts, had no respect for discipline and had a highly negative attitude towards work and their superiors, abused alcohol, worked inefficiently, created additional problems when it came to presenting accounts for protective clothing or paying back the money advanced to buy it. The opinion prevails that work evaders have a demoralizing effect on other workers and that they lower the status of the positions in which they are employed. Characteristically, the general condemnation of such attitudes does not go in hand with efforts to establish proper conditions for the occupational and social adaptation of work evaders."

Participants at various meetings keep complaining about the weaknesses of the law, demand that it be expanded, that the procedure to force people to work be simplified and at the same protest against sending these people to work in those establishments in which they are themselves employed. Everybody willingly suggests a neighboring construction site, factory or steelworks but personally refrains from such a cooperation, i.e., from putting into effect a law whose observance he is so loudly demanding.

An excellent publication of the Government Criminology Institute (Studia Kryminologiczne, Kryminalistyczne i Penitencjarne) outlined a picture of a work evader based on extensive studies of this group of the population. Usually a work evader is a male of 26-30 years of age, born to a working class family, a bachelor (70 percent), without a definite profession and without education (70 percent have only primary or even less education). Eighty-six percent of the young people who neither work nor study display various pathological symptoms and 80 percent abuse alcohol. The author of the article, E. Gulewicz, wrote: "Irrespective of whether alcohol is the prime cause of parasitism or its derivative or whether it is related to it, at a certain stage addiction makes work impossible."

Researchers' observations are consistent with official reports; a large proportion of those shirking work lacks professional qualifications while the poor condition of their health rules out their employment as construction or transport workers.

The conclusions that can be drawn from this gloomy picture are the following: For one thing, it is not amendments to the legislation that should be expected to provide the most effective instruments to combat work evasion, but primarily efforts to raise the standard of education, vocational training, health protection, and prophylaxis and rehabilitation facilities for youth. For another, it is clear that some people are responsible for the demoralization of the younger generation; now these people demand that the law should repair

whatever harm has been done by parents. There have been great expectations regarding plans to employ workshirkers on the construction sites of road-building and land development projects in urban centers. Over the period between January 1983 and April 1985, 2,500 people were employed at such construction sites within 47 voivodships, which makes 50 people in a voivodship. Four times as many people have ignored this duty whereupon the cases were referred to misdemeanor courts, or the courts of law, which have passed several forced-labor sentences.

"According to the employment authorities--the ministerial report says--the effects of forced labor was relatively low in comparison with the efforts to organize it."

The report goes on to say that as a result of undermanning at employment agencies sanctions against those shirking work are limited to simple administrative proceedings while the limited and inefficient cooperation between the relevant bodies (e.g., militia and working establishments) hampers the supply of information which is so much needed. For instance, if a registration office's note containing the address of a person evading work is delayed, or, the establishment concerned fails to notify the employment agency that it has dismissed the person the agency has sent to them, the whole procedure is hopelessly delayed, and the main goal--that the person involved should work--is lost somewhere on the way.

Amendments to the law can assume various forms. They could be provisions to extend the age limit of those to whom the duty of work applies, from 45 to 50 years. Or, provisions to extend the duty of work to women with an eye to combating prostitution, which has been a hopeless thing for ages now.

The official procedure for dealing with those evading work is not simple, either, as it abounds in guarantees designed to avoid mistakes, which makes the work of those responsible for executing the law more difficult. Well, then perhaps the official procedure should be simplified in order to facilitate the administration's work?

It is not as simple as that if you consider the situation more carefully.

If the age limit is extended, great numbers of demoralized people, destroyed by drug addiction or alcoholism, will join the ranks of workers. Also, each step aimed at the registration of and control over prostitutes is in conflict with the international convention signed by Poland 35 years ago which bans "special registration, and the setting of special standards regarding supervision and reporting procedures." Each deviation from the present legislation involves the violation of some other of the many international conventions ratified by our country. The editors of the law have done everything that was possible to this end (or even more) within the framework of international law containing various restrictions and prohibitions regarding forced labor. There is a certain price that has to be paid for membership of the international community and those who evade paying it have to be prepared for various, often grave consequences.

The guarantees provided for by the law against the possibility of error (e.g., the ability to lodge an appeal against being put on the work-shirkers register) cannot be limited. This is proved by the cases where the law has been applied erroneously; the Supreme Administrative Court had to defend members of the Jehovah's Witness sect who were nearly put on the register. There have also been cases of instituting unlawful proceedings against free-lance journalists or private farm owners. A state governed by the law must provide for adequate appeal procedures even though these may be troublesome for the administration, or abused. This is the price to be paid for lawful government.

After 3 years, the law's shortcomings are plainly visible but these are to be found in the sphere of practice rather than in the legislation: Legislators cannot succumb to demands based on disinformation, ignorance or demagoguery. POLITYKA was hardly enthusiastic about the law on work evasion but, as the law is already a fact, it should be allowed to grow in strength.

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POLITICS

POLAND

AVERAGE POLISH FAMILY IN FOCUS

Warsaw ODRODZENIE in Polish 3 Nov 85 p 9

[Article by Anna Przeclawska]

[Excerpts] [...] Polish families differ widely as far as their structure, living standards, and systems of beliefs are concerned. A family's ultimate capability as a protective and educating body is determined by all these factors together. It is necessary to consider all these elements when forming a picture of the average family because the family is more dependent than other social institutions on a close combination of material and nonmaterial factors. This truth often seems to be ignored, in social-policy making. Material conditions affect the way a family meets the psychological demands made upon it, and vice versa; if a family is generally confident, it is likely to cope successfully with everyday material hardships. A large proportion of young Polish people marry early (in 1984 some 3 million Polish married couples were under 35 years of age, said the Government's Council for Family Affairs at its 21 May 1985 session), and they often have close ties with their parents (living together in one apartment, children being taken care of by grandparents, financial ties, as well as emotional reasons or family traditions), making them largely three-generation families. This circumstance is not always of their own choosing or the model of family they pursue. Sometimes unsurmountable difficulties, such as no independent apartment or financial insufficiency, are the cause. Social policies should provide more opportunity for families to choose the model of family life they prefer--whether to live in a two- or three-generation family.

[...] Whatever the model a family prefers, intergenerational ties are a deeply-rooted tradition in Polish culture and should be preserved and taken advantage of in public life and in education.

Divorce is among those factors which wreak heavy damage in natural family relations. Although Poland does not rank highly amongst nations with the highest divorce rates, the latter have been rising for the last 2 years. The number of divorces has been growing in all communities, but particularly strongly in the countryside. They harm not only those personally concerned but also the children, creating educational difficulties.

Due to the growing life expectancy, single old people are more and more often becoming a problem. The system meant to protect this population group is clearly inadequate.

Health

The general health condition of Polish families is bad. Although infant mortality is now less than it was 20 years ago both in towns and the countryside, it has recently been growing again, so that it is twice the level recorded in advanced Western European countries.

Abortion is a matter which should be considered not only from the vantage point of its effect on women's health but also as a social and moral issue. The total number of abortions performed in Poland is some 350,000 a year. Abortion is increasingly often recognized as a social malady, regardless of world attitudes. The Health and Welfare Ministry have issued guidance about the wealth of information available to women who demand abortions, advising them of the possible consequences this may have for their own health or for the babies they may want in the future, and including the psychological consequences. However, this guidance is rarely observed in medical practice.

Part of the reason for this is a lack of sufficient knowledge of sexual practices, and an ignorance of various prophylactic methods including natural ones, but also little knowledge of the nation's demographic situation, and developments, and the actual economic and social effects. The often-repeated contention that the high birth rate is one of the major causes of the current crisis is a gross simplification, to put it mildly.

Analyses of Polish society's health condition disclose excessive incidence rates of diseases and deaths of children and adolescents at the age of puberty (in 1983, Poland was among those countries in Europe which recorded the highest rates in this respect, according to figures in the official statistical yearbook for 1984). Another alarming development is the soaring mortality rate of young males. Environmental factors, as well as harmful practices such as alcoholism or drug addiction, are the chief causes of these deaths (mostly due to coronary failures or cancer). Another widespread problem is the damage to health caused by poor working conditions. These give rise to a large number of invalids. Tuberculosis is once again becoming a problem for Poland's health service.

Material Status

The material status of families affects both their living standards and the manner in which they bring up their children. While no clear link has been proven between material status and successful educative efforts or harmony in family life, the quality of a family's life is certainly determined by its material status. The tougher the crisis becomes, the more important it is to prevent families' living standards from falling below a certain level (I deliberately refrain from using the term "minimum income" because it has no official definition yet), and to seek ways of enabling families to perform their social and educative functions in a manner independent of their material conditions.

Differences in material status are natural when they arise from the amount and quality of work, frugality, industry and the planning ability of a family's providers, usually the parents. However, these differences are unacceptable when they result exclusively from greater burdens, when there is no proportionate relations between work and pay, for this alone will force parents to lower their hopes and curtail their children's chances in the future.

Although average pay keeps rising (in 1984, it was roughly Zl 16,900), differences according to trade are still very wide. Wages of blue-collar workers have been growing rapidly, while pay for people with college-level education has been picking up only slowly. These differences are of several orders of magnitude leading, not only to an impoverishment of intelligentsia families, but also to the violation of an important principle of social justice (equal pay for equal work).

Social status and material status are divided by an ever-widening gap.

This has tended to suppress aspirations, particularly with respect to the area of education, where it destroys traditional cultural patterns and affects the young generation's system of preferred goals.

Families with many children, single mothers, and old people not supported by younger relatives are in a particularly precarious situation.

Families' material status is further affected by the inadequate services system, which has, moreover, been becoming increasingly expensive for consumers. Many families have no choice but to cease paying for services, doing as much as they can at home. The everyday difficulties involved in buying all necessities and the shortage of consumer durables, affect the spare time and rest periods available to families.

They also face growing difficulties when trying to take advantage of holiday periods. Prices of such services, as well as the fees for children's camps, have been soaring far beyond the average family's budget, for instance, in 1984 the total number of children going to summer camps was only a little over that of 1980. Families refrain from taking advantage of organized forms of holiday rest, and often find no substitute for this.

The material "pinch" on families does not generate critical attitudes toward material values. On the contrary—it only encourages consumerist attitudes. This makes the preferred "model" of material status not just an economic but also an educational and social issue.

Adults and Children

One of the main things a family needs is an apartment of its own. A family cannot perform some of its functions unless it has an apartment for itself. The desperate housing shortage hurts especially young families, while the statistical shortage of apartments keeps growing. In 1982 it was estimated at some 1.7 million, and in 1984 more than one-half of all families had no

apartment of their own. This problem has many ramifications, all of which combine to make the general public believe they have few prospects for the future.

Apart from this shortage, there is another, more recent problem--that of expensive apartments, which most families cannot afford. This is particularly true of owner-occupied apartments sold by housing cooperatives, which offer the only chance for most families to get hold of their own apartments.

Another important function of the family is to bring up children. This is a job continuing for many years, and changing in character and specific needs as the children grow up. Relations between parents and children keep changing, with the latter taking more and more responsibility in family life and for their own needs. This imposes new requirements on parents bringing up the children.

Children learn how to live by taking part in adults' lives. The latter set examples and patterns to follow for the former.

The models emulated by children also differ from family to family depending on the particular community, the parents' educational level, material status, trade, and family tradition. It is necessary to acknowledge this plurality of models. It should also be realized that values respected by parents are not always accepted without question by their children nor proved viable in actual life.

These circumstances face parents with the extremely difficult educational task of inculcating on their children's minds the patterns they regard as proper and of preparing the children to make their own decisions, about ideology and morality, arrived at independently.

Another danger created by the hardships of everyday life in Poland at this time is that value systems crumble and family members, parents and children alike, regard their homes as "their castle" and ignore the relationship between the values of public and family life. The crisis only reinforces this attitude for it perpetuates the general apathy, resignation and disenchantment.

Family and School

[...] Many parents believe there is a difference between the goals and aspirations of the family on the one hand and those pursued by educational institutions, above all the school, on the other.

One major cause of difficulties in family-school cooperation is the parents' failure to understand the essential meaning of a secular school with its concomitant lack of respect for views advanced at home compared to those at school.

Secular education does not mean a promotion of atheistic views. The school curricula, textbooks and organization are based on a clear distinction between fact and philosophy. Parents, for their part, should remember that their world outlook is not the only acceptable one, and that schools, as state-sponsored educational facilities, are not religious instruction centers. Schools bring together people of varying opinions, but the adoption of definite philosophical assumptions is one thing and knowledge based on scientific findings is another.

This is true in theory, but even more so in educational practice. Definite rules must be adopted and implemented which may make it possible for the secular state-sponsored school and for the many parents who are committed to a religious upbringing for their children to find a common language based on values shared by both sides. These values include primarily moral standards, which are recognized as significant regardless of one's world outlook.

But these differences are not the only cause of the bad relations which exist between parents and schools. Conflicts also arise over children's failures at school and because of other educational problems. Parents say training is the school's main job and complain about the latter failing to do this. Schools, for their part, often blame parents for their children's poor performance at school accusing them of educational mistakes and also giving parents the responsibility to make children keep up with the general progress expected by the school.

This particular situation has many objective and psychological causes, and both sides are undoubtedly to blame. However, what remains is a vicious circle of mutual recriminations which nurtures mutual distrust and leads to a formal approach to mutual relations and the resulting duties.

[...] It is in fact very difficult to provide an accurate picture of the modern Polish family. Many other matters should be examined, including the effect of social maladies on the Polish family, the position of women who bear the bulk of responsibility for organizing family life, the situation of disabled people and of families with disabled children. [...]

If the state can create conditions for families to improve their status by their own initiative and energies, then families will perhaps develop a more positive attitude toward their share of responsibility for the state's future. This is particularly urgent in the present crisis, because one of its signs is a sense of helplessness on the part of individuals confronted with the situation.

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POLITICS

POLAND

'NATIONAL CHARACTER' DISCUSSION CONTINUES

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 9 Nov 85 p 6

[Article by Edmund Lewandowski]

[Text] My article in POLITYKA No 39 on the national character of Poles called forth many reactions and different opinions. I received many letters and telephone calls, as well as invitations to speak at schools, clubs and various organizations. Roughly one in two reactions was positive, some of them even enthusiastic about what I said, and one in three clearly negative. The rest were neither, as their authors seemed just to seize this opportunity to present their own views on this question.

The most serious charges came from Professor Ryszard Dyoniziak of Cracow and Mr Jerzy Kaminski of Warsaw. They believe that nothing like a national character exists.

The former of these two adversaries of mine is a sociology professor. His main point is that all of it makes sense only if you talk of stereotypes, that is, of certain crude ideas about a nation which live on without any scientific justification. Moreover, says Professor Dyoniziak, it is wrong for an analyst to quote observations about Poles made by various people (novelists, poets, politicians, psychiatrists) from different epochs and to interpret them subsequently as being relevant in the present situation.

Admittedly, national character is clearly among the most controversial questions in social science. It was first raised as an issue on the 18th century (by Hume, Montesquieu, Kant and Herder), when description and empirical observation was the standard foundation of scholarly discourse. However, the epoch of Romanticism brought with it a mystical and ideological orientation which affected subsequent analyses. The problem itself seemed however significant enough even to sociologists of the Positivist epoch, who took it up, as did later successive generations of students of culture, society and human history. Tadeusz Lepkowski pointed out that "Those who ventured into this question were accused of the sin of intuitionism and psychologism, of subjectivism and ambiguity, sometimes even of ahistoricism.... Whatever position one takes, one has probably to concede that the question of national character is not imaginary but has a real historical foundation. It is not quite an important question, in fact."

Those who contend adamantly that there is no room in scientific analysis for the study of national character seem to be wrong. The truth is that in one discipline you will find outstanding scholars who are among both the followers and adversaries of this question. [...] The bibliography of world publications includes more than one thousand titles.

In my view, if a nation has an authentic culture of its own which constitutes a specific whole, then its constituent elements must differ significantly from elements constituting other such wholes (that is, nations). It would be very odd indeed if this were not so. A nation presents a unity in diversity. I admit that national character hardly yields to accurate definitions, but are such ideas as culture, personality, nation, feudalism or capitalism easier to define? Only the ignorant will say they are.

By national character I mean a dominant type of personality, that is to say, a kind of model to whom the individual person only approximates. Some people act almost entirely in line with that ideal model, while others may betray almost none of the model-constituting specific elements. Some native Poles may even behave like typical Frenchmen, Germans, or Russians, but that will not change the fact that, in this concept, typical Poles predominate in Polish society, as do typical Germans in German society, etc.

National character is a psychosocial outcome of a nation's historical vicissitudes and cultural changes. It is something relatively stable which yields to change only when exposed to the action of some new social entity over a long period of time (say, of a new economic and political order). Since it is a psychosocial rather than biological or ethnic phenomenon, someone of German, Jewish or other descent living in Polish society may have the qualities of a typical Pole. The specific conditions under which any given individual undergoes processes of socialization and enculturation, apart from the stability of any specific cultural model, are eventually the decisive factors. Maybe for this reason it would be more pertinent to follow Erich Fromm and to use the term "social character" instead of "national character."

Even when we finally accept the existence of national character, there is still the problem of how to study it?

The well-known Soviet sociologist Igor S. Kon says, "To comprehend the character of a nation, you have above all to study its history, social relations, and culture, individual psychological methods are insufficient for this purpose." I would agree and try to follow this methodological rule myself. As for outstanding and well-known novelists, poets, scholars and politicians from different epochs, I regard their remarks as those made by "judges" who were eminently sensitive and experienced "participant observers." I also believe that the arts contain much implicit information, a truth largely ignored by sociologists. Art, as Hegel shrewdly noticed, "enlivens and enlightens the arid darkness of ideas." Anyway, not everything can be squeezed into the rigid categories of science.

Some readers disliked my references to views expressed by psychologists and psychiatrists. One reader from Nowy Sacz voivodship in his lengthy letter says, "I would strongly discourage you from relying on judgments made by neurologists, psychologists and psychiatrists for one very significant reason--these fellows simply have no reliable knowledge of anything, and psychology itself is no self-contained discipline (that is, no science at all) but only a practical skill which, unless it refers itself to philosophy, boils down to a description of phenomena (what is called idiographic description) and to irresponsible claptrap or even simple nonsense. You, the author of the article, yourself supply very obvious evidence of this." Needless to say, this opinion is without foundation and unfair toward scientists studying psychological phenomena, who have more to say on the question of personality types than others. At this point let me say that I again disagree with Dyoniziak who says Antoni Kepinski's types are true only for the sick and not for all Polish society. It is enough only to read the chapter on alcoholism in Kepinski's book "Rhythm of Life" to see that Kepinski clearly means Polish society "at large." He underlines that while there is no definitive answer to the question about whether or not national character is something real, it can be theoretically assumed to exist. Nor can it be ruled out that as well as some acquired qualities, there may be some inborn, that is, gene-transmitted qualities too. Some readers may be surprised if I point out to them that Fr. Jozef Tischner believes that Kepinski's works contain "the first ever Polish-perceived, Polish-written, philosophy of man, which stems from Polish goodheartedness but which is, nonetheless, universally valid." Such remarks about our nation should therefore not be disparaged.

[...] What interested me most in readers' reactions was whether or not most readers agree with the picture of a typical Pole as drawn in my article. A majority shared my view.

One woman from Warsaw wrote, "We are constantly tied to false and imaginary ideas. How can we cure ourselves? Since my return to Poland a year ago I have been watching the dying remnants of progress, morals, ethical standards, mutual trust, personal hygiene, involvement, good manners and goodwill, and my optimism has been steadily dwindling. I am sorry for all those in Poland who honestly desire change, and even a national revival, but who are unable to stand up proudly in the face of the terror of mindless and fierce masses. Clearly, in the latter 20th century we have arrived at the position of a perfect specimen of a European slave, one who is disciplined and works hard but only in the yoke put on him by a foreign suzerain. I watched all this happening during my forty years' stay in the West. Two years ago I proposed in POLITYKA that Poles should read [Witold] Gombrowicz as an antidote against our 'pest' and foolishness. Now I see that first we must improve ourselves morally before we can digest Gombrowicz's ideas. The 'pest' here would probably use even him for its abject and obscurantist purposes. Everything should now be changed, starting by submitting it to psychoanalysis, the way you tried to do in your article. Your article will, hopefully, inspire some of the younger minds to venture into a soul-searching of the nation--in a European fashion, not in an Iranian one, as it has been. This is what I wish for all of us."

A woman teacher from a secondary school wrote that my essay had helped her order her own thoughts about the national character of Poles. The quotations from famous Poles in my article are "absolutely true" in her opinion. Although some people around her believed my article was designed as a contribution to election campaign propaganda and was ordered by the top-echelons, and that the quotations were picked tendentiously, she said that, even if that were true, "the article states the truth and describes correctly our virtues and faults." More people reacted in this way.

One reader from Poznan admits that what he describes as my "masochistic" article contains "surprisingly shrewd observations," and there was just one of my arguments that he could not accept, namely that the spirit of the sejmik still dominates our attitudes. He says, "People are doing everything not to have to attend conferences. The spirit now dominating Poland is that of apathy. In fact, Polish society became frozen in a clumsy and pitiful pose in its mad dance." However, I think that the retirement of many people into privacy as seen at present, does not mean that Poles have shed their deeply-rooted love of debates, making demands and passing resolutions. The spirit of the sejmik manifests itself on private social occasions, when people sitting around sumptuous tables engage in long disputes over the ways toward improving their country.

Some readers and callers were disappointed with my final conclusions. One woman from Katowice accepts my diagnose but rejects the cure I propose. "You want authentic self-government to curb the claims of central authority and similar nonsense. I suspect you liked the kind of order which existed in Poland throughout 1981 when almost every Pole did what he pleased and when on every street corner you could read posters calling for a 'self-governing Poland.' But we were then only one step away from self-annihilation. I don't understand you all, those educated people, who produce your little theories like rabbits from a hat." Another reader charged me with the sin of anarchosyndicalism. However, a reader from Zakopane pledged himself to be fully behind the idea of self-government. He says it was a grave mistake to liquidate [in 1975] the "counties" (poviats) and to create 49 voivodships, for that move failed to establish any closer links between citizens and offices, and thwarted further progress in local self-government.

One interesting letter came from Gdansk. A man described his personal experience which taught him that national faults can be found in all groups of Polish society, including those who hold power. Political leaders in socialist Poland included "freaks, adventurers with wild visions, docile yesmen, self-complacent men called, God knows why, statesmen. You don't need any special political experience to know that if a bad bunch is taken over by somebody who knows how to win them over, then those miserable people may soon turn into nice individuals. It is not the people who should be blamed for what we see around us, but its representatives." I do not think the whole thing is as simple as that, although I do agree the authorities bear most of the blame. I subscribe to Leo Tolstoy's philosophy in War and Peace where he says that the authorities are morally responsible for what happens but that in the physical

sense those who carry out the authorities' orders are to blame. A nation's history, then, is decided by both these factors together and not by either of them separately.

Much the same can be said about the role of social systems and political models in the historical process. In an editorial published in their BIULETYN INFORMACYJNY of 3 June 1942, the leaders of the clandestine Home Army wrote

"a country's strength depends not only on its system but mainly on the national character."

(Personally, I would have substituted "also" for "mainly" in this sentence.) They went on to say that, despite the continuing war and occupation, Poland would regain its full strength and viability "when discipline and cooperation can be strengthened in the national character of Poles."

Some readers (among them one from Wroclaw who wrote two letters amounting to no less than 79 pages) complained that I did not give enough emphasis to the negative role of Catholicism and clericalism and that I ought to have developed the question of the Counter Reformation's enormous effect on the national character of Poles today.

Let me only quote Melchior Wankowicz who wrote that "Catholicism in Poland assumed the shape of folklore, it became shallow, and the domain of reactionaries," and all that because the Counter Reformation had scored too easy a victory and Catholicism was never really forced to gather all its spiritual strength to survive.

In conclusion I wish to reply to all those who blame socialism for all evil in Poland. Let me quote a scholar whom I esteem as an outstanding sociologist. Fifteen years ago, Jan Szczepanski wrote: "I am not considering now the argument about the role of government or of the system, in shaping the face of the people and the state, I am dealing solely with citizens' own qualities. I find myself forced to the conclusion that socialism in Bulgaria, Romania or East Germany does not prevent the building of efficient catering industries or well-finished housing estates, while a comparison of the appearance of the countryside in Bulgaria with that you may see in Poland should give us a lot to think about. Everything depends on citizens' own qualities--their diligence, their dedication to honest work, their pride in the kind of work and in their trade." Exactly. The professor goes on to say, "We are an intelligent people, capable of brilliant discourse and action, and we gave evidence of the utmost patriotic dedication both during the war and during postwar reconstruction. Are we going to fall short in the present race of 'good work' which is so extolled by our philosophers?"

In my view, we should stop wailing, dwelling on our injuries, and walking in the clouds, and take a firm grip to supply the answer to the difficult challenge of the world today. We should also stop finding faults with others and begin to look at our own shortcomings.

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POLITICS

POLAND

NATIONAL STEREOTYPES THEORY RIDICULED

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 9 Nov 85 p 6

[Article by Ryszard Dyoniziak]

[Text] In his article called "Angelic of Heart, Boisterous of Mind" [PNB 192-85, Oct. 8, 1985, p. i), Edmund Lewandowski tried to describe "the Polish national character," by which he means "the dominant type of personality in any nationality."

I am sorry to say that Lewandowski's reflections are simple nonsense disguised as impartial description. It is all nonsense because the method he uses is unacceptable. First, no one has ever carried out any reliable psychological studies to show which particular type of personality is "dominant" among Poles. The very idea of a "dominant type of personality" sounds suspicious anyway. Can anyone distinguish a single "dominant type of personality" in men and women two centuries ago and now, in 10-year-olds and in aged people, in educated people and semi-illiterate individuals, in healthy and ill people?

Surely this is all nonsense, especially since ordinary experience tells us that the same individuals may betray different personality features depending on the situation in which they find themselves. Were those who fought in the Battle of Britain and those who fought in the Battle of Lenino the same people whom such different writers as Norwid, Wyspianski, Brzezicki, Kepinski, Mochmacki and Witkiewicz had in mind? This confusion of opinions expressed by writers who were not intent on providing scholarly descriptions of any "dominant type of personality" but who were merely commenting upon people entirely different in culture and social status from those of today, is unacceptable as a truly scientific description. Naturally, a writer, a psychiatrist, a politician, or a half-baked junior research assistant can express their personal views of one nation or another, but when somebody treats such enunciations as truths, and this is what Lewandowski does, a different situation occurs. I think his dissertation for his doctor's degree did not really deal with "national character" and his POLITYKA article is not a synopsis of his dissertation, for otherwise one should seriously wonder if perhaps the author himself represents that "dominant type of personality" he so humorously described in POLITYKA.

Let us look at the collections of quotations Lewandowski uses to show that that "dominant type of personality" rests on "opposite characters: a szlachta-style swagger coexists with peasant-style diligence." (Can a human personality ever be reduced to a single feature? Can "peasants" be attributed "diligence?")

Lewandowski quotes the neurologist Brzezicki and the psychiatrist Kepinski. The former introduced the notion of "skirtothymics," the latter says hysterics and psychasthenics supposedly predominate among Poles. But Brzezicki himself attributed the quality of skirtothymism not only to Poles but also to the Byelorussians, the Ukrainians, the French and the Italians, so it can hardly be regarded as the "dominant type of personality" among Poles. Kepinski's remark about the predominance of hysterics and psychasthenics amongst us concerns ill people who sought his help when he was a practicing psychiatrist. Judging an entire people by those who are ill is a joke. Suppose a doctor writes a book, based on his files of patients whom he treats for lung diseases and claiming that lung diseases predominate among Poles. What would you think about such a doctor's brains? Moreover, the hysteric type of personality "dominated" already in ancient Greece and Rome, for even by then all major symptoms of that disease were described. Nor can one use Freud's patients as evidence of a claim that all (or at least a dominant group) of people in any given nationality are sexual maniacs, for in such a case Poles' persistent attempts to regain national independence in the 19th century would also have to be reduced to physiology. Fortunately, Lewandowski does not quote Freud.

Needless to say, what Morwid or Witkacy, Mochmacki or Prus said about the Polish people remains important as one element of national self-awareness in the sense that it is perhaps meaningful to think whether or not we (we as teachers, as economists, as politicians, but not we as a "dominant type of personality" which does not exist in any way among Poles) act properly under definite historical or social circumstances. Those opinions, from the vantage point of scientific description, are only stereotypes, that is, over-simplified ideas concerning any given nationality. Had Lewandowski written that the opinions he quotes were only stereotypes, his argument would have been perfect. Unfortunately, he implies that these opinions are true and that something like a "dominant type of personality" does exist. There is no evidence for this, whether among Poles but also, for example, among Russians (are Dostoevski's characters the "dominant type of personality" of Russians during Tsarist times?—that too would be nonsense), Germans, or Frenchmen, Americans, or Israelis.

In addition, Lewandowski made an assumption which cannot possibly be proved on the ground of scientific analysis, namely that "national character" and the "dominant type of personality" are one and the same thing. They are not. If any specific "type of personality" is found to "dominate" in a community of Indians in the United States, does that mean they are a separate nationality?

Professor Dyoniziak is head of the Cracow Economics Academy's Sociological Department.

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POLITICS

POLAND

SELF-MANAGEMENT MAY BE 'SABOTAGED' BY UNDERGROUND

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 16 Nov 85 p 1

[Article by Zygmunt Szeliga]

[Text] In their interesting article "Self-Management in Tug of War" [PNB Economic Review No 94-95, Nov. 22, 1985, p 2], Jerzy Hausner and Jerzy Indraszkiewicz presented a true picture of the still difficult situation of worker self-management bodies. They are still coping with numerous difficulties both objective and subjective in nature, including not only obstacles raised by the economic administration, and problems arising from the continuing instability of the reform, but also difficulties due to their own deficiencies. In fact, worker self-management is in an even more precarious situation than that. It can be said to have come under fire from two sides. One was presented by Hausner and Indraszkiewicz. The other is the pressure that the political underground is trying to put on self-management bodies.

The idea of self-government, in various forms, has a long tradition in Poland. In our epoch, the idea of worker self-management was born during the "Polish October" 30 years ago, and although it failed to materialize until the 1980s the idea itself took deep roots in the people's awareness. It came up in August 1980 during first discussions about the changes needed in the way Poland's socioeconomic life was governed. It was acknowledged in the party's first declarations concerning the situation in Poland, and it was given firm support in legislation concerning the economic reform devised by special working groups appointed by the party and the government, groups later joined by Solidarity representatives.

Sound Criticism

It was then defined--amidst occasional sharp polemics and fierce political bickering--what worker self-management should, can, and may be, and what it is not nor ever may become. All that found expression in the relevant legislation which endowed self-management bodies with the powers of supreme authority at enterprise level, an authority with much influence in all principal affairs of the individual enterprise and with only a few restrictions following from the socialist system of a centrally-planned economy. In the present legislative system, then, worker self-management is the supreme authority at the enterprise, the master of the latter, taking care of the enterprise's prosperity, profits, efficient management, funds for future development and for the work force's pay and benefits schemes.

However, it was also stated clearly and unequivocally that worker self-management bodies are not, must not, and will not be bodies of political authority, that they must not take over the functions or prerogatives of constitutional state agencies, and that they will not act as "judges" passing verdicts on the state's general policies. In any country which expects to be well organized and efficient and which is to remain under the rule of law, each individual component of the body politic should perform the role assigned to it without trying to relieve or substitute others. This is an elementary precondition for the state--as the highest expression of public organization--to function properly and normally.

All that, I repeat, was stated clearly and unequivocally, established and articulated in the binding law. It was done in the course of tough political struggle, a struggle for power. That struggle, as will be recalled, was waged on many fronts. As well as declarations about an intended takeover, attempts were made to create power bodies over, or parallel to, official ones, with the hopes that these would lead to a disintegration and disappearance of constitutional bodies.

It was also in the train of those actions that the opposition tried to take control of worker self-management bodies. They sought to create a legislative and actual situation in which those bodies would either control existing official bodies or shadow them, a situation which would enable those holding self-management bodies in their grip gradually to curb or "isolate" the state's constitutional bodies, to develop a kind of "dual" power structure, and, eventually, to bring about yet another sharp clash. No state in which there are two parallel decision-making centers pursuing opposite goals can even function normally.

However, all those disputes were cut short when it came to discussing the form and creation of self-management bodies. Self-management was instituted in the only possible form in a socialist state (or, for that matter, in any state) and still exists in that shape now. The opposition, however, did not accept the adopted solutions, refusing to concede defeat. The only chance left for it was to pursue its goal step by step, creating small bridgeheads at various places, winning over one self-management body after another, manipulating them and leading them in a desired--not always the same--direction. One recent attempt to "take control" of such a body was made at the large Bydgoszcz enterprise Zachem.

Before I proceed to the Zachem story, let me point out some difficulties and constraints of self-management in its present legislative shape. The difficulties are various and multiple. Some arise from the present economic situation which is still far from normal, and which is bound to create various restrictions for self-management (this is true, incidentally, not only for these but for other forms of civic and occupational activity). Other difficulties result from the activity of the economic administration and bureaucracy. Shorn of a major part of its previous responsibilities and prerogatives--to the advantage of just such worker self-management bodies--the administration is

resisting the drive to move it from its previous position, by trying to curb worker self-management bodies in their actions, and by checking and hampering the process of these bodies' emancipation into the highest authority of the enterprise.

A third group of difficulties, finally, results from these bodies' own imperfect shape. A self-management body is the civil authority in the individual enterprise. It imposes on its members considerable duties promising nothing in return, apart from a sense of gratification at the thought of taking part in managing the company's fundamental affairs. But most employees are so engrossed in their own affairs and hardships, busy as they are trying to earn their living, that they have little time or desire to perform public functions, however gratifying that may be for some of them. Moreover, the matters which need to be resolved often prove to be involved and difficult to handle, and require members to wade through economic regulations, documents, papers, etc. Not everyone is able to do that, and not everyone has the patience.

This particular front of the battle for self-management is obvious, and it used to be a calculated built-in risk in the work on designing self-management and on putting it into practice. Indeed, right from the beginning it was evident that self-management had a steep and bumpy road ahead of it before it could become what it should be. What is ultimately important now is that, generally, self-management is treading precisely this road; how far it has managed to go depends largely on its own ability, on the individual people sitting on its subordinate bodies.

It is no secret that many self-management bodies were unable to organize themselves for a long time, and even now not every enterprise has one. Nor is it a secret that many people whose qualities enable and require them to work usefully in self-management bodies, stay away from them, some feeling put off by the general situation which is still not free of tensions and stresses, some doing so for personal reasons. At the same time, the genuine democratic election procedure to self-management bodies has allowed people with ties to the opposition, occasionally extremists from the former Solidarity union, to get themselves elected into many such bodies.

I am not implying that all of them retain their old views or that they have understood or learnt nothing. Most former Solidarity activists now engaged in self-management activities undoubtedly do understand and respect the idea and rules of self-management as they are determined by the law, but there are also others, and it is on them that the opposition stakes its chances. The opposition also pins its hopes on the "silent majority" who often fail to comprehend nuances or even simple matters, or who are more interested in a television broadcast of a major soccer event than in devoting one or several extra hours to a consideration, discussion and clarification of some specific matter.

The Other Front

This is how the other front has been created. The first front of battle is that for self-management bodies to become what they can and should become. On the other front, the battle being presently waged is for self-management bodies not to become what they cannot and should not become.

Let us now return to Bydgoszcz. The affair happened several weeks ago in the large chemical factory Organika-Zachem which has on its payroll 5,400 people who aren't too badly off (average pay for the first half year was Zl 19,827, or Zl 2,000 more than last year). Zachem has been coping with numerous difficulties and it needs to integrate its entire work force, the self-management body, the management, and the political and other organizations present in the factory.

I cannot tell how well the 68-person Employee Council of Zachem is working. There are signs that it is doing quite well. On 11 September, for instance, it discussed various important matters in a business-like manner from 9:30 a.m. to 3:30 p.m. A hard-working and serious body, one would say, but this first impression may be tempered when one learns that by 3:30 only 39 members of the council were still in the hall, 29 being absent. Those who remained glanced nervously at their watches as television was soon to start its live broadcast of a soccer match between Poland and Belgium....

A Showdown During the Match

Then the council chairman proposed the adjournment of the debate--precisely because of the match. He thanked management representatives and other invited guests for attending the meeting, and requested council members alone to stay to discuss two minor internal matters.

One of those "minor internal matters" was a letter to Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski starting in the following way: "In response to Mr. Prime Minister's appeal for a discussion of the most significant problems facing Poland and Poles--in connection with the projected speech at the UN forum--this Employee Council has resolved to present the chief problems facing our plant."

The letter was read out hastily (most participants in the meeting were unable to say exactly what it was about by the following day), the chairman ordered a vote; 21 people raised their hands "for" it, three "against," and 13 people abstained. All were at home on time to watch the transmission....

In this manner, 21 people, or less than one-third of the council, approved in the name of the council--and, in a sense, also on behalf of the 5,400 strong work force--a letter which contains not even a single mention of the word Zachem, a letter which can be said to be universal, a letter obviously written not by anyone from Zachem's Employee Council but by a seasoned and experienced opposition writer, a political pamphleteer. The letter could be "pushed through" the council using precisely the kind of trick that was used in this case, namely by a hurried reading five minutes before the end, in an atmosphere of haste and nervousness before an important event, a sporting event in this case.

The letter contains many opposition ideas. You may find in it "a society deprived a sovereignty," "the lack of an authentic trade union representation," "a reform drowned in a flood of legislative and nonlegislative regulations."

There are also "political prisoners as one element of Poland's socio-political landscape" in it.

Its concluding suggestions and proposals include calls for "a public rehabilitation of the victims of martial law along with a definition of moral responsibility," "a release of political prisoners," "the restoration of the union pluralism principle" (this last euphemism, of course, is the opposition's sobriquet for its demand to reactivate Solidarity), and for "furnishing possibilities for the creation of a chamber for self-management at the Selm."

One might say there is hardly anything new in all that. It is now an all too familiar part of the opposition's activities. It all fits in perfectly with the general blueprint for a struggle for power by way of divorcing self-management bodies from what they can and should be in order to build them up into centers of political decision-making next to the legal authorities. The next step would be to strengthen and expand such bridgeheads, the gradual coordination of their activities, and the foundation of an entire national structure. It was hardly a coincidence that the Zachem action came simultaneously with the idea of "a horizontal structure of self-management bodies" being launched in the Torun-based Elana factory.

This all amounts to an attempt to arouse sleeping specters. At Zachem, the attempted alarm proved abortive. It did not fail because of any administrative moves which would be at variance with self-management's legitimate prerogatives. A political struggle was waged for a week at Zachem. Although the Employee Council chairman did not give anyone the letter to read, the news about it leaked to the work force. Formal and informal employee groups held several meetings. Each day party and other activists had talks with Employee Council members, as well as with the work force which, as a whole, is a self-managing group and which is entitled and obliged to demand that the people it elected to self-management bodies should stand for its own true beliefs and opinions.

That work bore fruit. During the next session of the Employee Council the motion was proposed to put the letter on the agenda again. On that occasion, 48 people attended the session. The council leaders were unwilling to take up that matter again--Roma locuta, causa finita--but in a secret ballot the motion was passed by 25 votes to 23.

The letter was read out, this time aloud and in a clear voice. A stormy discussion ensued lasting for the next 5 hours. Participants were at each other's throats, talking about truths and lies, exchanging arguments. It was a real battle for the self-management body's beliefs. Its outcome merits special mention. Of the 47 council members taking part in the vote, a majority--30, to be exact--were against the letter and 17 were for it. These 17 votes in favor are significant when viewed against the background of the session and the first ballot, as the 23 votes against putting it back on the agenda were equivalent to its endorsement. During the debate, then, five or six people realized they had been manipulated or were won over.

The specters at Zchem were not aroused from their sleep, but it is very likely that the whole affair may now well arouse the self-management body, which realized that it cannot remain indifferent or take more interest in a soccer match than in the substance of what is being read out to it, that it must not allow anyone to manipulate or exploit it.

So let it be. Let this story also alert all other self-management bodies which are or may face attempts on them such as the one undertaken at Zchem. Self-management bodies have countless genuine problems, difficulties and obstacles before them, but if they yield to attempts to implicate them in antisocialist actions, then they may lack the energy and strength to fight for authentic self-management within the boundaries laid down by law.

But perhaps this is exactly what the underground is trying to achieve?

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POLITICS

POLAND

MALINOWSKI AT TRAINING CENTER FOR CIVIL SERVANTS

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 Nov 85 p 1

[Excerpts] On 16 November, Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski met the lecturers and students of the Post-Graduate Training Center for Civil Servants.

Malinowski gave much attention to the functioning of the state administration.

"Our general principle is to perfect the process of democracy by abandoning the system of central decision-making and transferring the respective rights to self-governing bodies," he said. "This is the reason for the changes within the central administration which should help to ensure a correct and efficient functioning of the regional administration. All the same, everyday practice still leaves much to be desired. That is why regional administration should give greater attention to cooperation with self-government, civic and professional organizations in their respective regions. Participation in decision-making is the most important thing.

The socioeconomic situation affects the condition of the state administration and, considering this, administration is quite efficient," Malinowski concluded.

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POLITICS

POLAND

TEENAGERS REQUEST ASYLUM IN SWEDEN

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Nov 85 p 7

[Article by PAP Stockholm correspondent Tomasz Walat]

[Text] Two Polish teenagers, Adam Z., 15, and his brother Krzysztof, 13, who at the end of October left their home in Zyrakowo, near Debica, and, by hiding in the undercarriage of a truck, smuggled themselves into Sweden via Swinoujscie, have by the Swedish authorities been sent to a camp for political refugees at Oxeloesund, 100 km south of Stockholm. The two boys asked for political asylum when they were detained by the police. The Swedish immigration office consider their application seriously, which is reflected in the fact that the boys were sent to a transit camp, where they are to await the results of the proceedings.

The PAP correspondent has managed to talk to the older of the "political refugees." Asked what reasons for asylum he had given to the Swedish authorities, he mentioned the fact that his grade in the school subject "civilian defense" was only a pass, that he did not take part in the May Day celebrations, that a militiaman had boxed his ears for crossing the road at red light, and that he and his friends had been reprimanded for their hairstyles. The boy said that his family in Poland did not have any special financial problems and placed themselves at the national average. Both boys went to school--one was in the second year of a mechanical vocational school and the other in the seventh year of primary school. It followed from what he said that they had not yet started school in Sweden and although they were living in a makeshift camp, which is situated on a housing estate, they were more or less without suitable care. The local civil court intends to appoint them a guardian.

The Swedish authorities, who often invoke the principle of uniting families, have not even informed the parents about the fate of their children. Adam said that he had only recently decided to send a letter to Poland describing their adventure.

The case of the Polish boys is in stark contrast to the fate of nine Lebanese children, who are the object of extensive concern in the Swedish press at the moment. The children came to Sweden on 7 October, escaping from the war in

Lebanon. Through lack of room some children were kept in a police station until 10 October, when all of them together with the women accompanying them were sent back to Beirut despite the warnings of Swedish lawyers and doctors that they might be killed on return. Loud but belated protests are now being voiced by the press and the organization "Save the Children," which has brought a court action against the police at Stockholm's Arlanda airport.

This shows that different yardsticks are used to deal with different kinds of refugees. The Polish mission in Sweden will be intervening in the case of the boys from Zyrakowo.

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POLITICS

POLAND

NEW COURSE REQUIREMENTS FOR STUDENTS

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Nov 85 p 5

[Text] (Own report) One of the more important tasks facing the country's universities is to counteract the slack discipline in completing courses on time.

According to an analysis carried out by higher education authorities, in some universities a half or more of students in their final year do not complete their courses on time. This causes serious complications in fulfilling employment plans, especially with staffing schools, and entails additional costs.

An improvement of the educational process should be facilitated by the amendments to the law on higher education, which define the powers and duties of various bodies responsible for the activity of higher schools. It should also be served by changes to the framework course requirements introduced on 23 November by the minister of higher education and science.

The changes mainly concern the principles and deadlines for submitting master's dissertations and taking final exams. Under the new regulations, students are required to submit their dissertations by 15 January if their course ends in the winter semester and by 30 June if it ends in the summer. The final exam should be taken within three months of submitting the dissertation (formerly four weeks).

It is still possible to postpone the deadline for submitting a dissertation, by three months at the most, in cases justified by a student's prolonged illness, the inability to conduct the required experiments because of an absence or breakdown of research instruments, or in other circumstances beyond the student's control.

A student can be struck off the list for failing to keep to the deadline for submitting his master's degree dissertation. He will then only be allowed to resume his studies after working for a year in a state-run enterprise or after completing military service.

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POLITICS

POLAND

OPZZ DELEGATION IN MOSCOW

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 23-24 Nov 85 p 7

[Text] Moscow (PAP)--A delegation of the All-Poland Trades Union Alliance [OPZZ] led by Jerzy Uzieblo, head of the OPZZ Commission for International Cooperation, has concluded a working visit to Moscow.

The OPZZ delegation has acquainted itself with the international activity of Soviet trade unions.

The results of bilateral cooperation pursued so far and prospects for its development were discussed during meetings with secretaries of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, K. Matskhiavichius and A. Subbotin and with the officials of the council's foreign department.

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POLITICS

POLAND

NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE MEETING

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Nov 85 p 1

[Text] On 25 November, the National Defense Committee met under the chairmanship of General Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The committee heard the chairman's report on the meeting in Prague of the Warsaw Pact member-country leaders during which the results of the Geneva meeting between the CPSU Secretary General and the U.S. President had been presented. Speakers pointed to the importance to security and peace of the Geneva talks, pointing to the significance of Soviet initiatives.

The committee reviewed certain problems which involve improvements to systems vital to the functioning of the state and the observance of official secret rules in the area of national defense. The National Defense Committee took the relevant decisions regarding the matters discussed.

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POLITICS

POLAND

KOHL RECEIVES POLISH JOURNALISTS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Nov 85 p 7

[Text] A group of Polish journalists representing daily papers, press agencies, periodicals, radio and television was received by Chancellor Helmut Kohl on 25 November during their visit to West Germany.

The meeting centered on the state and prospects of bilateral relations between Poland and West Germany as seen after the Geneva summit and the coming 15th anniversary of the agreement on the normalizations of Polish-West German relations.

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POLITICS

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

PEOPLE'S COUNCILS APPOINTMENTS--On the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the people's councils, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Nicolae Busui is appointed chairman of the executive committee of the Bistrita-Nasaud County People's Council, Comrade Ioan Pavel is appointed chairman of the executive committee of the Caras-Severin County People's Council, Ilie Matei is appointed chairman of the executive committee of the Timis County People's Council, and Comrade Niculina Noraru is appointed chairman of the executive committee of the Vrancea County People's Council. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 63, 20 Nov 85 p 2] /9274

NEW POST FOR ANDREI--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Ilie Verdet is relieved of his position as chairman of the Central Council for Worker Control of Economic and Social Activity and Comrade Stefan Andrei is appointed chairman of the Central Council for Worker Control of Economic and Social Activity. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 59, 15 Nov 85 p 1] /9274

NEW POSITION FOR BURACU--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Gheorghe Costea is relieved of his position as state inspector general in the State General Inspectorate for Control of the Quality of Products and Comrade Mihail Victor Buracu is appointed state inspector general in the State General Inspectorate for Control of the Quality of Products. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 59, 15 Nov 85 p 2] /9274

IVASCU ELECTION--The Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania resolves that since Comrade Deputy Ilie Vaduva is appointed minister of public affairs he is relieved of his position as deputy chairman of the Grand National Assembly and Comrade deputy Marin Ivascu is elected deputy chairman of the Grand National Assembly. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 61, 16 Nov 85 p 8] /9274

TERRITORIAL-ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGES--The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that as of the date of the present decree the communes of Ciorogirla, Clinceni, Cornetu, Darasti-Ilfov, Domnesti and Dragomiresti-Vale are transferred from the jurisdiction of Giurgiu County to the jurisdiction of the Ilfov Agricultural Sector, subordinate to

Bucharest Municipality. The annex to Law No 2/1968 on the administrative organization of the territory of the Socialist Republic of Romania is amended accordingly. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 65, 2 Dec 85 p 1] /9274

RECOGNITION OF ORTHODOX CLERGY--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Bishop-Vicar Simion Florea is recognized in the position of bishop-vicar, with residence in Constanta Municipality, of the Archdiocese of Tomis and the Lower Danube, to which he was elected by the Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church on 30 September 1985. Archimandrite Nicolae Mihaita is recognized in the position of bishop-vicar to the Romanian Orthodox Patriarchate, to which he was elected by the Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church on 30 September 1985. Archimandrite Constantin Argatu is recognized in the position of bishop-vicar, with residence in Curtea de Arges, of the Diocese of Rimnicu and Arges, to which he was elected by the Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church on 30 September 1985. The priest Ion Mares is recognized in the position of bishop-vicar of the Diocese of Roman and Husi, to which he was elected by the Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church on 30 September 1985. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 65, 2 Dec 85 p 3] /9274

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POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

SLOVENIA'S HAFNER DISCUSSES ROLE IN FEDERATION

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1814, 6 Oct 85 pp 14-18

[Interview with Vinko Hafner, president of the Slovene Assembly, by Svetislav Spasojevic: "The Slovenes on Our Federation"; date and place not given]

[Text] NIN's guest this week was the president of the Slovene Assembly. As one of the politicians who has lived in Belgrade during a term in a federal post, and as a person who is familiar with this area and its specific characteristics, he could also have been a very good interlocutor regarding events in Belgrade, or for instance regarding NIN. We decided to talk with him about the far more relevant issues of the functioning of our federation and about Slovene views on this problem, concerning which, let us admit, there have recently been a considerable number of simplifications, mistakes, and misunderstandings. Comrade Hafner, who is familiar with both our "federal" problems and also Slovene ones, proved to be an inspiring interlocutor.

[Question] Comrade Hafner, in view of your many years of sociopolitical activity, your experience from working in federal bodies, and all this in connection with your present duties as the president of the Slovene Assembly, I would like to ask you a few questions that are related primarily to the present political and economic situation in Slovenia, the activity of the delegate assembly system, and relations between the republic and the federation.

[Answer] All right! Excuse me, however, if I express to you at the very start of our conversation my feelings of responsibility and even a certain concern in making statements for NIN. In the first place, because NIN is a fairly influential and widely read weekly, especially in the Serbo-Croatian linguistic region, and one should thus think seriously about what one says to it. In the second place, because NIN has recently devoted an unusual amount of attention to Slovenia. This year alone it has published more than 60 long or short articles that were directly or indirectly related to Slovenia.

[Question] Well, that could be considered very positive.

[Answer] Of course, if many of these articles had not expressed an excessively critical and one-sided assessment of political and economic events

in Slovenia, especially in regard to relations between Slovenia and the federation. This is particularly significant because NIN is certainly not expressing just the opinion of its editors, but also of the social milieu where it originates and is read the most.

[Question] I understand. We can clear up some of this in our conversation. Let us begin with the following question: What is Slovenia most concerned with at this time, and why?

[Answer] It is concerned with the same essential problems and goals as all of Yugoslavia. These are above all how to protect and further develop the self-managing socialist order and how to achieve a turn away from the present economic instability, i.e. economic crisis, which is partially also a social crisis, toward stable and successful socioeconomic development again. Admittedly, the attitude toward this and the actual support for it have not always been identical in all social milieux or parts of associated labor. Nevertheless, I think that this is now a true concern of the Slovene people and the working class, and of all organized socialist forces. This is a result of the increasingly clearer realization of working people that only stable and successful economic progress can confirm and ensure the successful development of socialist self-management. And vice versa!

[Question] How much does the activity of the delegate assembly system contribute to achieving these basic goals?

[Answer] It is by no means easy to evaluate this. Specifically, if we assess the activity of the delegate assembly system from the point of view of external organization, i.e. by the number of meetings of the assembly councils and their bodies, by the attendance of delegates and their discussions at the meetings, by the number of measures discussed and adopted, then we could say that the delegate system is making progress and acting effectively. But if we assess it from the point of view of substance, i.e. from the point of view of how the delegate system expresses and achieves the authentic interests of workers and working people, and how this system ensures their direct influence upon overall social reproduction, then I think that so far, by implementing the delegate system, we have made modest progress in comparison with the previous representative system, i.e. the committee member-deputy one. Certainly the organizers of assembly work at all levels, together with the subjective social forces, seriously support more effective action by the delegate system, but they are hampered in doing so by some completely objective difficulties.

[Question] Which difficulties do you have in mind? Can you cite them more specifically?

[Answer] They are the same difficulties that are also hindering the successful development of socialist self-management, of which the delegate system is an inseparable part. These are above all economic instability and the broad extent of administrative involvement in all areas and flows of social reproduction. In such circumstances the actual role of the delegates and the delegate assemblies is very restricted, and subject to excessive influence from executive-administrative bodies and political leadership

structures. I think that this assessment applies to all levels, and especially to the Federal Assembly. Any progress toward the stabilization of social and economic events would contribute a great deal to strengthening the delegate system, and this would contribute to general social stability. And vice versa: a further intensification of the instability would completely destroy the real meaning and advantages of the delegate system.

[Question] The agenda for meetings of the Council of the Republic Assembly regularly includes very significant issues under the jurisdiction of the federation, on which the Federal Assembly or the Council of Republics and Provinces makes decisions on the basis of so-called consensus, i.e. in agreement with the republic and provincial assemblies. How do you assess the present relations within the federation in terms of this joint decision-making? And, first of all, what is the federation today? Is it only the army and foreign policy, or is it what the Constitution provides for, from the united socioeconomic order, the united market and money, to a joint development policy?

[Answer] The Yugoslav federation is everything that you have listed, and above all, it is a federally organized community of free and equal peoples and nationalities, based on socialist self-management relations. It is from such a basic definition of the federation that all the other elements of the Yugoslav community are derived. Our peoples joined together in such a federation because of quite specific vital interests, i.e. in order to ensure within it, on a lasting basis, their own national identities, their own freedom, and successful and stable socioeconomic development. Consequently, any consideration of turning it into some kind of confederation, a completely diluted community of national states, is absurd and harmful. It would likewise be harmful to turn it into a unitaristic and centralistic state, based on etatist-bureaucratic relations. That would also be a serious blow to our true community, since regardless of different historical and social conditions, it would give rise to the same disuniting inter-nationality and social antagonisms that destroyed the old unitaristic Yugoslavia in only 10 days of military conflict. We must never forget this!

[Question] It is often heard that no republic could survive independently. People even go to the point of asserting that this is the main reason for the existence of Yugoslavia. Do you agree with such an assessment? Could Slovenia, for instance, survive by itself, or not?

[Answer] Naturally, their being Slavs, emotional attitudes, and traditions contribute to strengthening the feeling that Slovenes belong to the Yugoslav community. The essential thing, however, is what one could banally view as practical considerations. These are real vital interests -- national, class, and economic. You know, even the strength of the community feeling among our peoples essentially depends upon the same real preconditions as the solidity of a family, or the marriage of a husband and wife. Naturally love and emotions, mutual respect and trust, and tradition are important. Nevertheless, children in common, property, and mutual economic-social dependence and security are fundamental. The same thing is also essentially true of our Yugoslav community.

You ask whether Slovenia could be left by itself, and constitute itself as an independent state. That is not realistic! Admittedly, there are even smaller states in the world. Likewise, each of our peoples has a right to self-determination, including secession. There are individuals, naturally not well-intentioned ones, who assure Slovenes that it would be best for them to separate themselves from Yugoslavia and join some sort of central European federation. Perhaps in some distant future the Slovenes, and even other Yugoslav peoples, in completely different international circumstances, will really consider some different possibilities. Today, however, the vast majority of Slovenes do not attach any significance to such schemes, since they consider Yugoslavia the only real and progressive alternative, and view all others as completely unreal, and as attacks on our fundamental national and class interests. In fact, the vast majority of Slovenes are convinced that just as 40 years ago in the national liberation struggle it was only by uniting with other Yugoslav peoples that we were able to prevent our destruction and ensure free and successful progress in our own national republic, today as well we can ensure the same thing only by being united in a federal, self-managing, and socialist Yugoslav community.

[Question] Then why has there been such an increase in criticisms by Slovenes, high forums, including the Republic Assembly, and the news media, of the situation in relations within the federation? Isn't this something similar to the exaggerated criticism of events in Slovenia for which you are criticizing the editors of NIN? And isn't this proof of an increase in nationalistic aspirations in Slovenia?

[Answer] It is true that today the critical attitude of Slovenes toward events in the federation and in individual republics is fairly pronounced. In this, there is always some lack of objectivity, exaggeration, and nationalist aspirations, which are certainly increasing in Slovenia. That is not crucial, however! In fact, the real and deeper cause of the increase in criticism is the noticable deterioration in the economic and social position of the majority of workers and working people, and thus also of the Slovene nation as a whole in the present economic crisis. It is also associated with the reduction in the ability of workers in associated labor to solve their own problems and society's through self-managing decision-making; this also weakens their confidence in successful socioeconomic development on the basis of socialist self-management relations. It is clear then that the causes for such an uncomfortable situation should be sought, among other things, in the past development policy of the federation, and of each individual republic and province, including Slovenia itself, and that the criticism and distrust are particularly increasing in regard to current economic policy in the federation. All of this is nothing that is unique to Slovenia, and it is only to a lesser extent that it can be ascribed to an increase in nationalist aspirations.

[Question] Tell us, Comrade Hafner, what is dividing us today, 40 years after the constitution of the new federal, self-managing, and socialist Yugoslavia, and what is the most fundamental thing that unites us?

[Answer] A short answer for a very broad question! I have already told you some of it. We are divided primarily by the quite objective circumstance that

we arose as nations and as national working classes in very different conditions. This caused perceptible differences in the degree of economic, social, and cultural development. In the 40 years of the new Yugoslavia's development, we have perceptibly reduced these differences, but we have not been able to liquidate them, nor can we do so in the near future. Consequently, they will continue to be the main objective source of contradictions and disunity, and we can gradually reduce them only through the successful socioeconomic progress of Yugoslavia as a whole and of each republic and province. This requires, above all, the successful implementation of the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program and the correct outlining of future socioeconomic development and of progressive systemic solutions for the next medium-term and long-term periods.

[Question] And what unites us most?

[Answer] I will only cite two fundamental things. In the first place, as I have already mentioned, there is the profound belief of our peoples that it is only united in a federal Yugoslavia, as we constituted it through the decisions of the second AVNOJ [Antifascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] session and through the present Constitution, that we can ensure our national survival, freedom, and sovereignty. In the second place, there is our adherence to socialist self-management, i.e. to a social order that leads to the true liberation of labor and man, and in the final analysis to the creation of a community of free producers, i.e. a classless communist society. This is the historic interest of the working class, the profoundly class interest that strongly links us today in the Yugoslav community. In fact, in what other state system could we successfully realize this interest, at least under present conditions? Not in a single one? Admittedly, this vital element of our mutual dependence and unification is considerably weakened and underestimated today, both because of the above-mentioned objective difficulties, especially economic ones, and also because of certain subjective failures. In spite of this, it is today, and will be in the future, the most significant factor in Yugoslav cooperation.

[Question] What role do the subjective socialist forces, especially the LCY, play in this?

[Answer] It is good that you mentioned this! The subjective socialist forces are very [words omitted] the unification of our multinational Yugoslav community, which is also very diverse in terms of socioeconomic development. This especially applies to the LC, as the political vanguard of the working class, the most responsible and most influential social force.

Nevertheless, we should not idealize and overestimate its social role and influence. In fact, the LC and individual communists live and work in different national and social milieux with very different and often even conflicting interests. Their class consciousness, communist consciousness, and knowledge, however, make it possible for communists to be able, at least to a certain extent, to rise above local and parochial interests, and fight for the broader, current and historic, interests of the working class. You know quite well, however, that today this class consciousness, communist consciousness, for different reasons, has been considerably weakened, and this

has also weakened the social reputation and influence and the effectiveness in action of the LC as an integrating social factor. I do not mean by this that they have been destroyed. On the contrary, the LC, with 2,100,000 members, possesses great moral and creative forces, and enough social influence that by mobilizing the working class and our peoples it can turn the current unfavorable socioeconomic trends toward stable prosperity again, and toward strengthening the federal Yugoslav community.

[Question] In connection with our unity, it is often asked whether we have only one working class, i.e. a Yugoslav one, or whether we also have the working classes of the individual republics and provinces. What do you think of this?

[Answer] I think that it is already apparent from our basic political documents, such as the LCY Program and the Constitution, and also from our social reality, that we have both one and the other, i.e. the working classes of the individual republics and provinces, and a Yugoslav working class, as a sort of class-social unification of them. How could we imagine the Slovene people and the Slovene republic without a Slovene working class? And how could we imagine the Yugoslav federal state, based on self-managing socialist relations, without the Yugoslav working class? In reality, national and class are inseparably linked, and we cannot put one above the other. And the creation of the unity of the Yugoslav working class is influenced by the same linking and divisive circumstances as the creation of the unity of our peoples and nationalities.

[Question] Purely economic factors, i.e. the unified economic area and system, the unified market, money, the operation of economic laws and economic coercion, must also be a significant basis for linkage and cooperation.

[Answer] You are absolutely right! If we are faced today, more than ever, with a multitude of antagonisms, which sometimes assume the significance of inter-nationality or class conflicts, then of course this is, among other things, a consequence of the excessively restricted operation of the economic laws of socialist commodity production. Instead of resolving many economic and social contradictions and antagonisms naturally, through the operation of economic laws in the social base itself, i.e. in associated labor and in the market, they are converted by the excessive involvement of the administration, i.e. of politics in the economy, into antagonisms between the workers and the state, i.e. the social community, and serve as a basis for generally unjustified accusations about who is exploiting whom. Today this is one of the main sources of the exacerbation of the antagonisms among the republics and provinces, and also antagonisms in the activities of the federation, including the Federal Assembly. Consequently, any step toward the more effective operation of economic laws, while simultaneously strengthening the self-managing pooling of labor and funds throughout Yugoslavia, would certainly reduce the causes of the present antagonisms, and strengthen the real foundations of our cooperation, while a continuation of the present excessively broad administrative interference in the economy would only weaken them even more.

[Question] You also mentioned the activities of the Federal Assembly. Its

Council of Republics and Provinces makes decisions on vital issues, especially economic ones, on the basis of so-called consensus, i.e. with the agreement of the delegations from all of the republics and provinces. What do you think -- is consensus really a way of going from individual interests to the unified Yugoslav interest, or is consensus only (there are more and more such opinions) a means of subordinating common interests to individual and parochial ones?

[Answer] I am convinced that it is precisely this consensus, which has been criticized so much, that is the infallible constitutional basis for the successful affirmation of Yugoslavia as a true community of free and equal peoples and nationalities. It is true that the need for a consensus causes certain difficulties, especially in the present difficult socioeconomic situation, and sometimes even serious damage, because of significant delays or unprincipled compromises in adopting some significant decisions. In spite of this, the positive aspects of consensus are much more significant than the negative ones. Above all, it best expresses the full responsibility of the republics and provinces, as constituent parts of the federation, for finding solutions which at least can basically ensure simultaneously both the fundamental vital interests of each republic and province, and the successful development and stability of the entire Yugoslav community. This requires that all parties participating in delegate decision-making acquaint themselves very seriously with the position of the others, that they patiently come to an agreement, and, which is most important, that they also bear full collective, political, and personal responsibility for the correctness and implementation of the decisions accepted by consensus.

[Question] What influence upon the realization of a federation constituted in that way is exercised by its bodies, and how do you assess their activity?

[Answer] The role of the bodies of the federation is naturally very significant. Nevertheless, they are not the same thing as the federation, as a community of peoples and nationalities and workers in associated labor, which, with all of the well known antagonisms and misfortunes, is nevertheless actually stronger, more progressive, and more effective than it sometimes appears to be in terms of the activity of its bodies. Although many capable, honest, and progressive people work in them, the overall federal mechanism (and especially the federal mechanism) today is not capable enough, nor does it have enough of a reputation, to be able to perform successfully its very difficult and responsible role in the functioning of Yugoslav federalism.

In addition to this, the federal mechanism, like every large concentration of administration or management structures, is objectively exposed to continual bureaucratic-etatist, centralist desires for autonomous power, or guardianship over the peoples and the working class. Continual caution regarding its degeneration and incessant supervision and pressure from the delegate bodies and the subjective socialist forces are therefore justified.

[Question] What is the cause of such a situation in the bodies of the federation, and who is responsible for it?

[Answer] The cause lies primarily in underestimation of the social role of

the bodies of the federation, and especially of the federal administration; this is clearly reflected both in the unfavorable composition of its personnel and in the insufficient effectiveness of its activity. Naturally, those responsible for such a situation are most of all the highest federal bodies and individual high officials in them. These include the SFRY Presidency, the Federal Assembly, and the Federal Executive Council. They also include the federal leaderships of the sociopolitical organizations, especially the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium. I am also not excluding the Federal Economic Chamber and other economic associations, which likewise have a significant effect upon the activity of the entire federal system.

[Question] And the responsibility of the republics and provinces?

[Answer] That is just what I wanted to say. In my opinion, the republics and provinces, and their political leaderships, on the whole are even the ones most responsible for the situation in the bodies of the federation. In fact, the republics and provinces have a decisive influence upon the composition of the cadres of all of the bodies of the federation, and also significant influence in practice upon their activity or decision-making. Furthermore, the republic and provincial leaderships, including our Slovene leadership, behave in a very ambiguous way. On one hand, we all stress how much we need respected and effective federal bodies, and so the most capable cadres, highly respected and progressively oriented, should work in them; but when cadres are selected in practice, as a rule we give preference to the needs of our own republic and not the federation. Perhaps the selection of cadres for the most responsible and most influential positions in the federation is an exception, but not always. And in the second place, we all give verbal support to the principle that cadres in the federation, regardless of where they are recruited, should not be guided by the parochial interests of individual republics and provinces, but must consistently represent the interests of the entire Yugoslav community.

In practice, the republics and provinces treat these cadres as their own true representatives. They therefore have their trust and moral support only as long as their positions and solutions sufficiently coincide with the positions and interests of their republic. But immediately, when they get into a conflict with them, friendly persuasion comes first. And if this happens frequently or continually, then they are politically disqualified or "written off." This is a crude political reality, which is the greatest obstacle to the effective operation of Yugoslav federalism, in addition to certain objective circumstances.

[Question] Do you expect the delegate elections and the congresses of the LC and the other subjective forces next year to help overcome these acute problems more effectively?

[Answer] Of course they will help, although in this short period and in the given objective circumstances they cannot guarantee any radical progress, which can be achieved only through a lengthy process of social transformation and the maturing of society's awareness and knowledge of what really moves the Yugoslav community forward and what pulls it back.

[Question] Comrade Hafner, your very interesting and relevant discussion of the topic "The League of Communists, Communists, and Communism" was published in the second issue of the journal SOCIJALIZAM this year. What led you to such reflections, and what did you want to accomplish with them?

[Answer] I was led to reflect on this above all by the very critical and creative discussion of the Draft Conclusions of the 13th Session of the LCY Central Committee. The question of what essentially brought us to the present crisis situation, how we can get out of it, and what the role of the LC, as the most influential and most responsible social force, should be in this, was raised very often during the discussion. This logically gave rise to a question of what the LC really is, what communists are, and what communism really means to us. Specifically, in the LC's Program and Statute, the achievement of a classless communist society is defined as the historic interest of the working class, and the final goal of the activity of the LC. I tried to assess what the attitude of communists toward this historic task is like today, and how this is linked to the ideological commitment and social activity of communists in the present stage of our socioeconomic development. In doing this, I wanted to prove that the clear and firm adherence of communists to the idea of communism can only strengthen their class consciousness, ideological unity, and successful action, and not weaken them, by any means. That was the purpose of this discussion, although I do not know how convincing I really was about this.

[Question] Tell us your opinion of the implementation to date of Tito's idea about strengthening collective work and responsibility, and of instituting a one-year term for the presidents of collective social bodies?

[Answer] Any objective assessment of this cannot be simple at all, and may be very contradictory. On one hand, the implementation of Tito's idea has certainly contributed to the further democratization of social activity and cadre policy, strengthened the collective work of social bodies, and expanded the cadre base for the selection of cadres for the most responsible social positions. The introduction of a one-year term particularly helped to limit the so-called presidential system, which was manifested through the superiority or excessive influence of the presidents of the collective bodies. On the other hand, incautious implementation of Tito's idea, especially in the application of the one-year term, has also had some very harmful consequences.

Above all, the opinion has spread that a less qualified cadre can also be selected for such a responsible position for a year, since he will quickly be replaced by others who are more qualified. And since such a practice is usually repeated, this necessarily leads to a harmful lowering of the criteria for the selection of cadres for responsible social positions, i.e. to an increasingly more evident mediocrity. And in the second place, the one-year term has hampered the continuity of work and the successful implementation of the programs for the work of individual collective bodies, which depends to a considerable extent upon ability and effect, and upon some permanence on the part of the presidents. Of course, this is not as apparent in the activity of collective bodies with a permanent professional and competent staff as it is in the bodies with volunteer personnel or in bodies in which the composition of the leadership is changed every year. In addition to this, the change in

the president of the assembly every year certainly contributes to an undesirable increase in the influence of the professional apparatus of the assemblies themselves, as well as in the influence of the executive-administrative bodies, upon the activity of the delegate assembly system as a whole. I also see all of these difficulties in the activity of the Federal Assembly, even though its leadership is urging forcefully that its tasks be carried out as responsibly and effectively as possible. When I view matters from this angle, it seems to me that a one-year term would be more harmful than beneficial to the successful activity of the assembly delegate system.

[Question] And what solution do you consider the most advisable? Perhaps what you introduced in Slovenia, i.e. a two-year term with the possibility of repeating it once?

[Answer] That seems to me to be more efficient than a one-year term, and it does not at all prevent the implementation of Tito's idea -- strengthening collective work and responsibility. I think that the most appropriate solution would be having the term of the president last as long as the term of the members of the collective bodies, i.e. as a rule four years, without the possibility of a repetition.

[Question] Finally, Comrade Hafner, tell what Slovene experiences you can recommend as, one might say, a prescription for overcoming the present Yugoslav difficulties more rapidly and more successfully.

[Answer] Are you assuming that the Slovenes could have such a prescription?

[Question] Why not? You are the most developed republic, with the longest industrial tradition, and with well-developed economic cooperation throughout Yugoslavia and outside it. Many good experiences and progressive views must arise from this, which could also benefit others.

[Answer] I think you are right, and I would be very satisfied if your editors, as well as other responsible officials in Yugoslavia, felt the same way. We have already mentioned the increase in the critical attitude of Slovenes with respect to events in Yugoslavia and individual republics and provinces, an attitude in which there is always some intolerance and bias. And the attitude of others toward the Slovenes is even worse. For example, in the present discussions about current issues related to the economic system and current economic policy, differing Slovene positions are usually being condemned in advance as unacceptable and as an expression of some sort of Slovene selfishness and pretensions, and only then does one begin to think about them as possible rational and progressive solutions. Such intolerance does not lead to progress, and only intensifies the objective antagonisms.

It is clear that the greater economic development of one republic or province does not mean in and of itself that this people and its representatives are more sensible and more progressive. But since greater economic development, as a rule, is associated with a longer industrial tradition and a greater socialization of labor and workers' culture, then all of this together certainly gives rise to some more rational and progressive ideas about the system for managing social reproduction and controlling the value produced.

This by no means applies only to Slovenia. All of the republics and provinces have some more developed regions and centers, with which they are particularly concerned, seeing them as the main foundation for their economic and social progress. Furthermore, Slovenia, with its open borders, has considerable economic ties with the neighboring developed Italy, Austria, and even Hungary, which is certainly not beneficial just to Slovenia and Croatia, but also to all of Yugoslavia. All of these activities should be given serious consideration in judging the essence and caution of various Slovene views.

[Question] And your "Slovene prescription," let us say?

[Answer] The Slovenes do not have any universal prescription for solving the present Yugoslav problems. If we did, we would use it ourselves first of all in order to overcome our own problems more successfully. Nevertheless, we do have our joint Yugoslav prescription, i.e. successful implementation of the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program, while simultaneously strengthening the self-management position of workers. And one more -- let us all live on our own work and our real disposable income, and then we will all certainly be able to overcome our own difficulties and those common to Yugoslavia more successfully!

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SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

POLAND

INDUSTRIES POLLED ON HIGH-SPEED STEEL CONSUMPTION DURING 1979-1982

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[Article by Leszek Dobrzanski and Eugeniusz Hajduczek, Silesia-Gliwice Polytechnic: "An Assessment of Domestic High-Speed Steel Consumption and Quality Standards in the Manufacture of Cutting Tools"]

[Text] 1. Introduction

High-speed steels, although making up a small share of total steel production, have been the object of keen scientific and engineering interest for over 100 years. The fabrication of tools with very high functional properties at the lowest possible cost lies at the basis of every modern technology and determines its application. Consequently, it has an important influence on the development of many branches of industry. The cost of the products produced in these branches of industry is also dependent upon the quality of the tools.

The present economic situation, therefore, requires that domestic consumption of high-speed steels be made more efficient. Systems changes must be made which would ensure a reduction in the consumption of these materials by increasing the life of the tools made from them and which would ensure reduced consumption of scarce alloying elements, particularly W, Co and Mo. The correct selection of chemical composition of steel for particular groups of tools, the right choice of metallurgical process, and the correct processing of semifinished products, including heat treatment and thermochemical treatment in the manufacture of tools, are especially important at this time (1-4).

In the foregoing work, an assessment has been made of the structure of high-speed steel consumption in domestic industry, of the availability of high-speed steel tools and heat treatment and thermochemical equipment, and of the state of the art of tools manufactured in Poland from these steels. In order to make this assessment, a questionnaire was prepared, on the basis of which complete information was obtained from 111 plants which produce and use high-speed steel tools and 11 plants which use these tools but buy them from other manufacturers (5). The total amount of high-speed steel tools consumed by these plants is approximately 70 percent of the overall domestic consumption (6). The years 1979 to 1981 and the first 6 months of 1982 are covered by the poll.

Table 1. Consumption of Various Grades of High-Speed Steels for Tools Fabricated by Plants Polled

(1) Gatunek stali	(2) Typ stali	(3) Łączne względne zużycie stali szybko tnących na narzędzia produkowane przez ankietowane zakłady, % masowy			
		1979	1980	1981	1 półrocze 1982
SW7M	6-5-2	71,4	77,6	68,0	73,3
SW18	18-0-1	17,8	15,0	13,8	14,0
SW12C	12-0-2+C	1,1	0,98	0,91	0,93
SKC	12-0-2-5+C	6,8	4,1	11,8	1,97
SK5	18-0-1-5	0,2	0,19	0,12	0,15
SK5V	12-1-5-5	0,06	0,07	0,07	0,14
SK5M	6-5-2-5	0,06	0,05	0,06	0,05
SK5MC	7-4-2-5+C	0,1	0,16	0,14	0,32
SK5MV	6-5-5-3-5	0,43	0,33	0,27	0,41
SK8M	2-9-1-8+C	0,03	0,03	0,03	0,09
SK10V	10-4-3-10	0,8	0,56	0,46	0,56
SW3S2	3-1-2+2Si	0,11	0,08	0,33	0,41
SW2M5	2-5-1	—	—	2,8	6,0
SW7	7-0-1	0,2	0,28	0,23	0,39
SW9 (NW9)	9-0-2	0,75	0,64	0,65	0,93
Ogółem (5)	ton (6)	5383	5193	5348	1859

Key:

1. Grade of steel
2. Type of steel
3. Total relative consumption of high-speed steels for tools produced by plants polled, percentage of aggregate
4. First half of 1982
5. Total number of tons

2. Assessment of Structure of Domestic High-Speed Steel Consumption

Based on data obtained from the poll it was determined that 15 grades of high-speed steels are used in this country (Table 1), including 8 covered by PN-77/H-85022, 2 covered by PN-77/0631-05, and the others are nonstandard. Imported steels, corresponding to Polish grades SW7M, SK10V and SK8M, were also used in small amounts.

During 1979 to 1982 overall consumption of high-speed steels declined almost 30 percent as compared to 1979. In 1979 SW7M was the most widely used steel (71.42 percent), and also SW18 (17.8 percent). On the other hand, consumption of SW12C (1.1 percent) and SW3S2 (0.11 percent) was low. Co-bearing steels were not widely used (a total of approximately 8.32 percent), as were steels with low Mo and W content (about 2 percent in all). Very little NW9 high-alloy steel was used in coldworking applications appropriate to high-speed steels (about 0.75 percent).

The structure of high-speed steel consumption in the years that followed did not change very much. Up to 1981 consumption of SW7M declined to approximately 68 percent, while SW18 steel consumption dropped to about 13.8 percent. The drop in consumption of SW12C (to approximately 0.91 percent) and NW9 steel (to about 0.65 percent) was small. But the consumption of steels containing low amounts of alloying elements, i.e., SW2M5 and SW7 (to 3 percent), SW3S2 (to 0.33 percent), and the total consumption of Co-bearing steels (to 13 percent), rose.

Table 2 shows the assortment structure of tools produced by the plants polled, while Table 3 shows the assortment structure of tools purchased by these plants. The largest plants which produce tools for trade purposes mainly use SW7M steel. In view of the large use of SW7M steel by a small number of trade tool producers, the high-speed steel consumption structure in the remaining plants for various cutting tools is not correct, because in addition to SW7M steel, the uneconomical SW18 steel was used, yet both grades of steel are regarded as being universal. For example, one of the largest domestic producers of lathe tools consumed 370 tons of SW18 steel annually, which was 84 percent of the total high-speed steel consumption in that plant. This is attributed to tradition and the fact that this steel, as distinct from the newer and more economical steels, does not require strict adherence to tempering and hardening parameters since it is not very sensitive to heat treating mistakes. SW18 is also insensitive to grinding errors. Such a large consumption of SW18 steel indicates that it is priced low in comparison to other grades, since replacing it with SW12C would make it possible to produce almost 30 percent more tools of comparable or higher hardness, with identical consumption of imported tungsten. But this also means that heat treating parameters would have to be improved by the tool producers and that the conditions and methods by which cutting edges are ground by users of the tools would have to be drastically changed. The decisions recently issued by the minister of materials management concerning the reduction of SW18 steel consumption may change this situation.

On the other hand, consumption of cobalt steels is low. In this country these steels are replaced mainly by SW7M and SW18. But world trends indicate that to reduce the consumption of expensive steels which contain cobalt, an element in short supply, steels containing large amounts of vanadium and carbon are being widely used. A small amount of sulfur is added to these steels to improve their grindability. In this country, SW12C steel, which has a chemical composition commensurate with this concept, is used to some degree, but other grades are not produced at all. Nor are steels containing larger amounts of sulfur produced, with the exception of SW7M of which only an experimental batch has been made. Production of steels containing higher amounts of vanadium under our conditions is very difficult, if only because there is a shortage of grinding and abrasive materials in the quantities and of the properties required to machine these steels.

The tendency to use SW2M5 for drills is a good one. These tools can be used successfully for jobs where there are light and medium loads. Similarly, SW3S2 may show satisfactory properties in some applications. Also, NW9 steel may be used as a substitute for high-speed steel, especially in the case of some tools for machining wood, plastics, and even soft carbon steels. But it is disturbing that despite the almost constant shortage of alloying elements, mainly Mo and W, outside of SW3S2 no substitute steels are being produced which would make it possible to reduce the consumption of Mo and W without lowering the functional properties of the tools on which wide-scale studies are being conducted throughout the world (7-9).

For all practical purposes, high-speed steels melted by the electroslag or vacuum methods are not used in this country, although these technologies should help to increase the life and productiveness of tools by several percent (10-14).

Table 2. Types of Cutting Tools Produced by Plants Polled

(1) Rodzaj narzędzi	(2) Łączna produkcja narzędzi skrawających w ankietyowanych zakładach w latach				(3) I półrocze 1982			
	1979		1980		1981		1982	
	tys. sztuk (4)	udział masowy (5) %	tys. sztuk (4)	udział masowy (5) %	tys. sztuk (4)	udział masowy (5) %	tys. sztuk (4)	udział masowy (5) %
(6) Noże tokarskie	3 823,0	25	3 307,0	23,7	3 079,3	24,2	1 012,4	23,9
(7) Wiertła	40 383,1	20	40 237,8	20,9	39 883,5	21,5	20 162,8	22
(8) Narzyny	1 839,1	18,5	1 726,0	17,6	1 487,0	17	895,3	19,3
(9) Frezy	1 156,4	11,8	1 246,9	12,2	1 201,6	12,0	665,8	9,2
(10) Gwintowniki	6 000,9	9,6	5 481,6	10,6	5 000,6	10	2 453,2	10
(11) Przeciagacze	30,2	3,8	30,8	3,9	29,0	4,2	12,3	3,9
(12) Rozwiertaki	407,2	3,3	453,0	3,3	440,5	2,9	261,9	3,9
(13) Narzędzia do obróbki kół zębatach	224,1	2,6	142,1	2,9	132,7	2,8	74,0	2,7
(14) Pły taśmowe	1 227,4	2,5	1 134,3	2,6	1 205,1	2,8	636,2	2,7
(15) Noże diutownicze i strugarskie	29,9	0,63	26,8	0,56	26,3	0,60	14,3	0,69
(16) Noże do głowic frezarskich	21,4	0,37	24,5	0,3	20,3	0,14	9,7	0,13
(17) Pogłębiacze	25,0	0,2	27,1	0,2	52,2	0,27	34,5	0,38
(18) Segmenty i płyty tnące	1,2	0,2	1,2	0,1	1,2	0,18	0,6	0,2
(19) Przepychacze	21,6	0,1	16,1	0,06	14,9	0,03	8,1	0,1
(20) Płytki do wiertel piórkowych	1,9	0,03	1,9	0,05	1,7	0,04	0,7	0,04
(21) Rolki do gwintów	0,8	0,01	1,5	0,02	1,9	0,04	0,6	0,03
(22) Narzędzia do obróbki plastycznej	1,7	0,006	3,3	0,01	3,2	0,01	1,0	0,01
(23) Inne	2 803,9	0,9	2 318,6	0,87	1 836,7	1,0	1 539,7	0,6

Table 3. Types of Cutting Tools Purchased by Plants Polled

(1) Rodzaj narzędzi	(2) Łącznie narzędzia skrawające zakupowane przez ankietyowane zakłady w latach				(3) I półrocze 1982			
	1979		1980		1981		1982	
	tys. sztuk (4)	udział masowy (5) %	tys. sztuk (4)	udział masowy (5) %	tys. sztuk (4)	udział masowy (5) %	tys. sztuk (4)	udział masowy (5) %
(6) Wiertła	3001,8	46	2539,2	43	2528,6	45	1324,2	40
(7) Noże tokarskie	374,1	20	328,0	22	302,9	18	166,2	21
(8) Frezy	442,6	13	395,9	14	389,0	15	215,9	16
(9) Gwintowniki	508,3	8	497,5	9	470,5	9	243,8	9,5
(10) Rozwiertaki	130,7	3,8	125,8	3,5	127,5	4,2	67,4	3,5
(11) Narzyny	119,1	1,9	129,3	2	120,5	2,4	67,4	2,5
(12) Narzędzia do obróbki kół zębatach	5,7	1,4	7,7	1,8	6,8	1,7	3,2	1,7
(13) Przeciagacze	2,9	1,3	3,5	1,9	2,8	1,6	1,6	1,8
(14) Nawiertaki	69,7	0,7	64,3	0,7	58,7	0,6	32,8	0,7
(15) Noże diutownicze i strugarskie	3,4	0,3	3,6	0,4	4,0	0,4	1,7	0,6
(16) Inne	58,9	1,6	54,8	1,88	57,0	2,1	41,0	2,2

[Key to both tables on following page]

Key for Table 2:

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------|
| 1. Types of tools | 12. Reamers |
| 2. Total production of cutting tools
in plants polled during years shown | 13. Gear-cutters |
| 3. First half of 1982 | 14. Band saws |
| 4. In thousands | 15. Slotters and planers |
| 5. Percentage of total | 16. Milling cutters |
| 6. Lathe tools | 17. Counterbores |
| 7. Drills | 18. Cutting plates and pads |
| 8. Threading dies | 19. Push broaches |
| 9. Milling cutters | 20. Plates for flat drills |
| 10. Screw-taps | 21. Thread rollers |
| 11. Pull broaches | 22. Plastic-working tools |
| | 23. Others |

Key for Table 3:

- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| 1. Types of tools | 8. Milling cutters |
| 2. Total number of cutting tools
purchased by plants polled during
years shown | 9. Screw-taps |
| 3. First half of 1982 | 10. Reamers |
| 4. In thousands | 11. Threading dies |
| 5. Percentage of total | 12. Gear-cutters |
| 6. Drills | 13. Pull broaches |
| 7. Lathe tools | 14. Spotting drills |
| | 15. Slotters and planers |
| | 16. Others |

Use of nonfurnace refining methods may bring about a reduction in the consumption of scarce alloying elements and may lower tool production, although the unit costs of the tools may be correspondingly increased.

Sintered high-speed steels, which are particularly good in the case of large-dimension tools (15-19), are not used at all in this country, which, in view of our limited ability to import, is understandable.

Poll results have shown that the quality of metallurgical intermediate products made from high-speed steels in our country is not satisfactory. In particular, attention is generally called to the extreme carbon segregation in rods larger than 30 mm in diameter, and even larger than 30 mm in diameter, and primarily in forged rollers. Attention is called to skin decarburization and checking and differentiation of chemical composition in cross-sections of bars, errors in marking, and also the ovality and dimensional inconformance of bars with standard requirements and technical conditions. It is stated furthermore that steels are supplied without certificates of conformance to metallurgical standards, even to customers who order several hundred tons of these steels each year. Most of the plants which purchase high-speed steels do not make a quality inspection of the intermediate products and tools produced because they are not able to do so. Attention is also called to the fact that the dimensional assortment of bars made from high-speed steels is not large enough and that the purchasers of small quantities complain that they are not able to purchase the desired grades in the small amounts required.

3. Assessment of Heat Treatment and Thermochemical Treatment of Domestically Produced High-Speed Steel Tools

Of the plants polled, 98 do their own heat treating while 13 make use of coproduction services. In 1981 these plants produced tools for which 4,780 tons of high-speed steels were consumed. It was determined that in almost all of the plants, not excluding the largest manufacturers of trade tools, the heat treating method employed was not correct or not fully correct.

The first preheating of approximately 63 percent of the tools, and the second preheating of approximately 29 percent of the tools (Table 4) is done in chamber furnaces, which causes oxidation and decarburization of the surface layer of the tools and can cause an unfavorable primary austenite grain growth.

A decided majority of the plants use salt bath furnaces to austenitize tools, which prevents decarburization and oxidation. But about 0.3 percent of the high-speed steel tools are still being austenitized in chamber furnaces in air atmosphere (Table 4), which causes intensive oxidation and decarburization. Thus about 15 tons of high-speed steels heat treated under these conditions are practically destroyed each year, and the tools manufactured in this way are good only for scrap. Furthermore, about 47 percent of the tools are treated in salt baths whose temperature is measured and regulated with optical pyrometers (Table 4). Because of the large errors in regulating the temperature by the use of this device (plus or minus 40 degrees C), the mechanical and functional properties of the tools are low after the heat treatment is completed. The improper temperature-regulating method may also be the cause of pitting, which the tool producers often ascribe to extreme carbon segregation in metallurgical semifinished products. Plants which produce about 1.5 percent of the tools are equipped with vacuum furnaces in addition to batteries of salt bath furnaces. The vacuum furnaces are used to treat precision tools and tools for which high-reliability standards are set (Table 4).

Approximately 20 percent of the tools are cooled directly from austenitizing temperature in air or oil (Table 4). Because of the very rapid cooling rate and the large thermal stresses which this produces (added to structural stresses), the tools may become distorted and hardening cracks may appear. The producers often blame this on defects in semifinished products. These cooling methods also cause surface oxidation. Approximately 80 percent of the tools are cooled in salt baths (Table 4), which makes it possible to avoid extreme thermal stresses and surface oxidation, and ensures that the steel in hardened state will have the desired structure.

Over 90 percent of the tools are tempered in chamber or soaking furnaces in air atmosphere (Table 4). Considering that only a small number of furnaces of this type have forced air circulation, which ensures equal temperature distribution in the heating area, it must be assumed that most of the tools are tempered at the wrong temperature because of its unequal distribution. Because the temperature in different parts of the heating area of the furnaces may fluctuate by even plus or minus 20 degrees C in relation to the set temperature, a large part of the charge may be tempered at the wrong temperature. Tempering under these conditions, therefore, worsens the functional properties of the

Table 4. Conditions of Heat Treatment and Thermochemical Treatment of High-Speed Steel Tools in Plants Polled (Data Covers 1981 Production)

Total amount of tools manufactured in 1981, in tons	4,782
Share of tools for which heat treatment included (1) preheating in chamber furnaces in air atmosphere, in percent	63.3
Share of tools for which heat treatment included (2) preheating in chamber furnaces in air atmosphere, in percent	29.3
Share of tools austenitized in chamber furnaces in air atmosphere, in percent	0.28
Share of tools cooled in oil or air, in percent	20.3
Share of tools tempered in chamber furnaces in air atmosphere, in percent	90.2
Share of tools heat treated in plants which did not have batteries or groups of machines to treat high-speed steels, in percent	6.8
Share of tools austenitized in a salt bath whose temperature was regulated by means of an optical pyrometer, in percent	46.4
Share of tools treated in plants which were able to conduct thermochemical treatment, in percent	43.4
Share of tools heat treated in plants which did not have metallo- graphy laboratories, in percent	1.45

tools and also oxidizes their surface. This makes it impossible to use thermochemical treatment without previously removing the oxidized and decarburized surface layer of the tool cutting edge by grinding it.

Considering the technical capabilities of the plants it can be estimated that approximately 45 percent of the tools may be thermochemically treated after having been heat treated (Table 4), mainly be gas nitriding, oxynitriding, selective nitriding, or passivation. Only a small amount of the tools are thermochemically treated, even in the large trade tool production plants, despite the fact that it has been determined that the life of tools which have been nitrided or subjected to similar processes is thereby increased from 20 to 24 percent. This applies especially to tools which operate on the tool flank but are sharpened on the friction surface, and small tools intended for one-time use without sharpening.

It was found that about 7 percent of the tools are heat treated in plants which do not have machine groups, batteries or production lines for this purpose (Table 4). In plants which produce about 1.5 percent of the tools there is no way of verifying the correctness of the heat treatment conducted (Table 4), if only by hardness measurement or metallography.

Most plants which use small amounts of high-speed steels, i.e., from a few kilograms to a few tons, do not have facilities to produce tools. Mistakes in heat treating are also made in large tool manufacturing plants. Considering that this lowers the functional properties of the tools, speedy action should be taken to institute correct heat treating procedures in these plants.

4. Summary and Conclusions

Data obtained from the literature, information collected from manufacturers and users of high-speed steel tools, and results of our own research, all point to the fact that the consumption of domestically produced grades of high-speed steels must be improved and that grades with a chemical composition which ensures more economical choice of alloying elements and with higher or comparable functional properties than the grades now being produced, must be introduced. In particular, the use of SW18 steel, which has a very high and not fully utilized W content, must be reduced without fail. The consumption of SW7M steel, which up to now has been regarded as a universal grade for all tools operating under various conditions of treatment of all kinds of materials, must be reduced. On the other hand, it is advisable to increase the consumption of SW12C steel and others with a low Mo and W content, with a reasonably selected carbon content. To reduce the consumption of Mo and W, new grades of steel should be introduced, in which these alloying elements are partially replaced by Si, while at the same time the C, N and S contents are increased, and Cr is partially replaced by Mn. For tools which operate under easy conditions, SW2M5, SW3S2 and other steels which have a low alloy content should be used. Despite the shortage of Co, it seems essential to increase the consumption of cobalt steels but only for special tools which must operate under the most difficult conditions. To make the consumption of this alloy more efficient, steel containing higher amounts of vanadium and sulfur should be developed and produced. Undoubtedly the consumption of particular groups of high-speed steels is affected by the price structure, which is incorrect and should be corrected as quickly as possible.

To improve the production of metallurgical semifinished products from the steels being discussed, definite action should be taken to reduce the excessive and unequal segregation of carbides and eliminate the metallurgical defects such as porosities, blowholes, cold shuts and overlaps, as well as surface decarburization and oxidation. To improve the functional qualities of the tools, particularly the large-size ones, nonfurnace methods of refining steel should be widely employed, mainly electroslag melting. The forming of tools by plastic working should be introduced on a large scale, and the dimensional assortment of semifinished products should be enlarged. The work that has been carried on without success for 15 years--a method for objectively evaluating carbide segregation in semifinished products--must be immediately completed. This must be done on the basis of quantitative metallography and computer examinations. The metallurgical plants should, following the example of foreign firms, supply their customers with quality certificates which contain, in addition to the chemical composition of the steel, results of tempering and quenching tests on high-speed steels, from every melt.

The consumption of high-speed steel can also be greatly reduced by constructing tools in the right way, i.e., by manufacturing, on a larger scale than heretofore, connecting tools by integrated methods. Production of bimetal materials and tools should be introduced as rapidly as possible, the core of which is made of construction or carbon and low-alloy tool steels, while the blade is made of high-speed steel. This applies also to band and circular saws.

Heat treatment has a dominating effect on tool life, and heat treating can be done properly by using the appropriate heating and controlling equipment. It is essential that the large manufacturers of high-speed tools be supplied the equipment which would prevent surface oxidation and decarburization, and measurement-control apparatus which uses thermocouples and not optical pyrometers. Production of tools in plants which lack the required equipment must be discontinued. Central tool heat-treating departments should be set up, coproduction activity in this area should be increased, and highly skilled work crews should be provided. It is also essential that a catalog should be prepared which would show characteristics of the steels and conditions for heat treating tools, taking their dimensions into account.

There is an urgent need to popularize thermochemical treatment and other methods for treating tool surfaces, mainly nitriding and allied technologies, particularly for tools operating on the tool flank but sharpened on the friction surface, and for small tools intended for one-time use. This particularly applies to large manufacturers of trade tools, since thus far even the equipment now installed for this purpose is being used only partially.

In view of the shortage of the materials required to sharpen tools, production of carborundum grinding disks, and those with diamond and boron nitride, must be increased. The use of corundum grinding disks should be reduced, especially for sharpening tools from high-speed steels containing high amounts of C, Co, and V. Conditions for grinding tools from different grades of steels should be developed, and suitably equipped stations for sharpening tools should be set up in the plants.

To reduce the consumption of imported alloying ingredients, it is essential that there be proper management of scrap, both by manufacturers and by users of tools.

Examination of the data obtained from manufacturers of high-speed steel tools and from their customers indicates that the level of engineering know-how differs in various plants. The professional skills of the workforces must be continually improved and work organization must be perfected. This can be done through vocational training courses for the laborers and blue-collar workers, through postgraduate and updating courses for the technical-engineering personnel, and through application of scientific achievements in the industrial plants.

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SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

POLAND

FIGURES ON OUTPUT OF POLYMER PLASTIC MATERIALS, PRODUCTS

Warsaw POLIMERY in Polish No 6, 1985 pp 243-244

[Excerpts] Table 2. Annual Production of Basic Raw Materials and Chemical Intermediate Products Used in the Production of Plastics During 1982-1984 (Including Petroleum and Sulfur)

(1) Artykuł	1982	1983	XII '84	1984
(2) Aceton	.	23 320	2 040	22 030
(3) Acetylen z półspalania	24 625	29 179	2 671	28 148
(4) z wytwornic	10 801	15 130	1 426	15 947
(5) Akrylonitryl	9 553	13 076	1 194	13 367
(6) Benzen	216 788	234 356	22 925	239 612
(7) Bezwodnik ftalowy	31 630	30 711	3 321	32 410
(8) Butadien	54 081	72 461	8 360	74 278
(9) Chlor	53 047	321 046	28 164	336 598
(10) Cykloheksanon	.	26 910	2 060	23 679
(11) Etylen	13 449	198 009	23 119	255 968
(12) Fenol	2 153	69 920	6 921	70 312
(13) Ftalan butylu	8 910	10 634	808	9 625
(14) Ftalan oktylu	23 127	29 603	3 000	32 386
(15) Kaprolaktam	78 052	89 058	7 581	87 142
(16) Karbid	196 769	473 456	43 746	500 659
(17) Melamina	11 386	14 418	198	14 114
(18) Propylen	4 173	107 424	10 586	120 797
(19) Ropa naftowa	2 427 826	13 638 055	1 262 769	13 641 654
(20) Sadza aktywna	24 244	23 419	2 139	25 036
(21) Siarka	4 896 494	4 957 152	370 247	4 987 915

SOURCE: ETOCHEM statistics.

Key:

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Item | 12. Phenol |
| 2. Acetone | 13. Butyl phthalate |
| 3. Acetyline from semicombustion | 14. Octyl phthalate |
| 4. Acetyline from generators | 15. Caprolactam |
| 5. Acrylonitrile | 16. Carbide |
| 6. Benzene | 17. Melamine |
| 7. Phthalic anhydride | 18. Propylene |
| 8. Butadiene | 19. Petroleum |
| 9. Chlorine | 20. Hard carbon black |
| 10. Cyclohexanone | 21. Sulfur |
| 11. Ethylene | |

Table 3. Annual Production of Polymers and Copolymers During 1982-1984

(1) Tworzywo	1982	1983	XII '84	1984	(2) Zmiana '84/'83, %
(3) Aminoplasty	1 842	18 731	1 741	20 305	+ 8,5
(4) Fenoplasty	2 723	33 012	2 823	33 556	+ 1,7
(5) Octan celulozy	20	25	3	26	+ 4,0
(6) Poliakrylany ¹⁾	2 537	3 532	273	3 588	+ 1,7
(7) Poli(chlorek winylu)	16 730	106 236	10 529	128 226	+20,5
(8) Kopolimery VC ²⁾	3 380	3 283	234	3 499	+ 6,6
(9) Polietylen	16 515	129 407	11 166	140 571	+ 8,7
(10) Poliestry (razem)	(6 726)	(10 972)	(1 518)	(16 191)	(-48,0)
(11) techniczne	6 441	6 681	1 232	11 006	+66,0
(12) lakiernicze	285	3 818	269	4 470	+17,0
(13) galanteryjne	.	473	17	655	+38,5
(14) Polipropylen	52 633	57 173	2 705	63 904	+11,9
(15) Polistyren	27 516	28 688	2 982	33 013	+ 5,0
(16) Styropian	9 033	7 820	886	12 270	+57,0
(17) Poliuretany	18 122	24 555	2 824	27 084	+10,3
(18) Silikony	482	638	94	754	+18,2
(19) Winacet (w masie)	16 234	19 136	1 585	21 618	+12,3
(20) Winicet	3 368	3 283	233	3 498	+ 6,6
(21) Zywice epoksydowe	10 137	8 330	765	8 216	- 1,3

SOURCE: ETOCHEM statistics

Key:

- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| 1. Material | 11. Technical polyesters |
| 2. Percentage of change 1984-1983 | 12. Lacquer polyesters |
| 3. Amino resins | 13. Garment polyesters |
| 4. Polyacrylates and methyl poly-methacrylate esters | 14. Polypropylene |
| 5. Phenolics | 15. Polystyrene |
| 6. Cellulose octane | 16. Styrofoam |
| 7. Polyvinyl chloride | 17. Polyurethanes |
| 8. Vinyl chloride copolymers | 18. Silicones |
| 9. Polyethylene | 19. Vinaset (in bulk) |
| 10. Polyesters (all) | 20. Viniset |
| | 21. Epoxy resins |

Table 4. Annual Production of Basic Multi-Molecular Materials in 1984.

(1) Materiał	1982	1983	XII '84	1984	(2) Zmiana '84/'83, %
(3) Jonity	752	494	76	636	+29,0
(4) Kauczuki + lateksy	99 864	119 728	10 608	119 390	- 0,3
(5) Kleje mocznikowe	118 363	181 424	16 923	190 447	+ 5,0
(6) Tworzywa sztuczne	228 000	522 222	45 989	589 087	+12,7
(7) Włókna chemiczne	90 113	232 068	20 226	238 337	+ 2,7
(8) w tym: celulozowe	26 606	70 219	6 269	73 069	+ 4,0
(9) syntetyczne	63 512	157 048	13 600	160 251	+ 2,0
(10) Wyroby lakierowe	95 028	296 177	23 899	339 798	+14,7

SOURCE: ETOCHEM statistics

Key:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Material | 6. Plastics |
| 2. Percentage of change 1984-1983 | 7. Chemical fibers |
| 3. Ionites | 8. Cellulose fibers |
| 4. Rubber and latex | 9. Synthetic fibers |
| 5. Urea adhesives | 10. Lacquer products |

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

POLAND

BIOTECHNOLOGY RESEARCH PROJECTS AT MICKIEWICZ UNIVERSITY

Gliwice CHEMIK in Polish No 9, Sep 85 pp 223-226

[Article by Prof. Florian Domka and Dr. Mirosław Szulczynski, Department of Chemistry, A. Mickiewicz University, Poznań: "Some Aspects of Research in the Field of Biotechnology in the Division of Kinetics and Catalysis, Department of Chemistry, A. Mickiewicz University, Poznań"]

[Excerpts] INTRODUCTION: In the Division of Kinetics and Catalysis of the Department of Chemistry, UAM, Poznań, in addition to research in the field of heterogeneous and microheterogeneous catalysis, there is another mainstream of research that encompasses chemical processes in which the catalyzers are enzymes and their carrier very frequently is cell material. This other research area is included in so-called biotechnology, which was earlier called biochemical engineering. Generally speaking, this is field in which operations and chemical changes are carried out, wholly or in part, through the activity of living organisms [1, 2, 3]. The year 1947 is recognized as the beginning of biotechnology as a separate scientific discipline; this was the year when Merck Chemical Company was awarded the McGraw-Hill prize for achievements in biochemical engineering. One of the first symposiums in this field took place during the Congress of the American Chemical Society in Atlantic City, September, 1949. Since that time, conferences and biotechnological symposiums have been ever more frequent. For example, the last, highly specialized Sixth Symposium on Biotechnology for Fuels and Chemicals took place in May, 1984 in the U.S.A.

In recent years, conversions and processes of biocatalysis are being used more and more often for synthesizing many useful products. We have only to name large concerns such as Coca Cola, Exxon, Shell, Texaco, General Electric and others that support and constantly expand their own biotechnological laboratories and finance research in other scientific centers working with biotechnology.

The significance of biotechnology as a science at the border between biology and technology may be greater in the future than the significance of electronics and other related fields since it may be the way to obtain a whole series of products essential to human life. What is most important is skill in exploiting microorganisms for the production not only of antibiotics and pharmaceuticals, but also for purifying effluents, producing protein, fertilizing soils, etc. The amount of research and number of biotechnological papers is already so large that Current Biotechnology Abstracts (published by the Royal Society of Chemistry, England), which

appeared recently, facilitates gathering specialized literature. It is worth noting here that many periodicals appear every year that are devoted to problems of biotechnology. Recently, for example, the periodical, "Enzyme and Microbiol Technology," appeared in Great Britain. All of this points to the dynamic development of this scientific discipline.

In Poland, only during the last year, the Biotechnology Section was formed in the Committee of Biochemistry and Biophysics of the Polish Academy of Sciences; this section works on coordinating and establishing priorities for research problems in the immediate future. It is at the same time a consultative body.

The international conference on the chemistry of natural products was a special occasion for popularizing current trends in world biotechnology; this conference was organized in Poland in July, 1985, under the auspices of IUPAC. On this occasion, it would be worth mentioning that the factor that limits broad application of biotechnological processes is primarily the lack of adequately developed optimum technology and very frequently the inaccessibility of sources of structural carbon that is the source of energy for the process of microorganism reproduction. At first it was believed that the most suitable source of available carbon would be derivatives of petroleum or simply crude oil. The last energy crisis made us pay more attention to exploiting other sources of carbon. It seems that the future of biotechnology will be linked with managing compounds contained in wood. For this reason, in many countries (U.S.A., Sweden and others), intensive research is being done on obtaining special varieties of deciduous trees (poplars) with rapid accumulation of mass. Moreover, modern biotechnological laboratories require not only various kinds of apparatus, but, most of all, specialists who are well trained in various fields. Usually small laboratories are not in a position to conduct broad and complex research, but they can contribute much by doing unit research optimal for technology.

In this paper, we want to present certain problems from the field of biotechnology that were studied in the last 15 years in the Division of Kinetics and Catalysis by a small group of investigators working on processes of denitrification, catabolism reduction of sulfates, utilization of cellulose discards, and synthesis of various biochemical preparations.

CONCLUSION: Finally, we are conducting research on cellulose discards. In this area, we are cooperating with the University of Georgia, which has a strong center for biotechnological research. Work that we are doing jointly pertains mainly to utilization of cellulose discards in microbiology. An interesting problem is isolating pure strains of bacteria capable of decomposing cellulose and starches and producing ethanol as a final product under thermophilic conditions (usually a temperature of 55-65°C). Ethanol produced under these conditions can be easily distilled at a lower pressure.

Other problems that are the subject of our research that might be mentioned are enzyme technologies for producing valuable preparations that are now being imported from capitalist countries. Recently initiated research has

already brought certain measures of success. As an example, we might mention at least the wholly mastered technology of producing glucoso-1-phosphate; for this production, we use our own substrates exclusively. The capacity of our facility exceeds by a 1000 times the national demand. Similarly, we got encouraging results with preparatory purification of many enzyme proteins. At the present time, for example, we can produce large quantities of acetate kinase of various degrees of purity.

From this brief overview of research being done in our center, the importance of the role of biotechnology in the present and in the future becomes obvious. By exploiting microbiological processes, we will be able to synthesize many valuable pharmaceuticals (for example, anticancer interferon), effectively purify industrial and agricultural effluents, produce protein from discard materials, recover valuable metals from poor deposits, produce the hydrogen fuel of the future, and deal effectively with pests (microbiocides). Moreover, microorganisms are valuable material for studying the conversion of matter. Biotechnology can then help people in solving many of the problems of tomorrow, particularly in saving people and nature from annihilation.

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SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

POLAND

RESEARCH ON DOMESTICALLY REFINED ROLLING MILL LUBRICANT

Krakow NAFTA in Polish No 6, Jun 85 pp 211-214

[Article by Wladyslawa Grabowska and Wieslawa Tomerska, Institute of Oil Technology, Krakow: "Polish Oil for Silicon Steel Sheet Rolling"]

[Experpts] The foregoing short description of the types of silicon steels, their behavior in plastic processing and the resulting requirements for rolling lubricants, as well as earlier studies and published data on other rolling oils, have suggested the approach to the development of domestic oil for cold rolling of silicon steels. The study was undertaken late in 1981 and early in 1982 at the Institute of Oil Technology in cooperation with the Lenin Metal Works. It was determined that the emulsifying oil for silicon steel sheet rolling was to contain:

- refined mineral oil with a viscosity of about 90;
- a set of nonionic-ionic emulsifiers and
- lubricant additives of polarized and EP types.

EP additives have not been previously used in Polish emulsifying rolling mill oils. The lubricant for silicon steel sheet rolling was to become the first product to contain the additive of this kind. It was assumed that it would be a sulfuric additive in view of the high efficacy of sulfur additives that has been repeatedly confirmed in difficult metal processing conditions.

The sulfur additives that are used include various chemical compounds with different degrees of activity, such as sulfides, polysulfides and thiocarbamides.

An investigation of the influence of the structure of sulfur compounds on their activity has established that [6]:

- even sulfur compounds of the same type have different properties;
- organic disulfides better improve the strength of boundary layers than the respective monosulfides;
- the activity of disulfides depends on the energy of disulfuric bonds and the sulfur-carbon bond energy;

Table 3. Comparison of the Properties of Polish Oil and Imported Oil for Cold Rolling of Silicon Steel Sheets

	<u>EW-T2</u>	<u>Oil A</u>	<u>Oil B</u>
Physicochemical characteristics:			
Viscosity at 50°C, mm ² /m	36.0	54.0	37.1
Saponification number, mg KOH/g	69.2	42.0	88.5
Acid number, mg KOH/g	12.7	3.0	12.8
Coke content, percent	0.39	0.74	1.17
Ash content, percent	0.21	0.27	0.44
Sulfur content, percent	0.73	-	0.26
Corrosive action on copper (100°C, 3 hours), assessed according to ASTM D 130	3a	3a	1b
Emulsifying capacity: presence of nonemulsified phase	absent	absent	absent
Emulsification ease	5	5	2
Stability factor	0.3	0.1	0.2
pH of emulsion:			
a) based on distilled water	8.9	9.4	9.0
b) based on water with hard- ness of 15°N	8.0	8.3	7.9
Lubrication characteristics:			
A. Tests of oil in four-ball unit:			
dent diameter, mm, at pressures:			
45.4 daN	-	-	0.30
61.7	0.35	-	1.80
78.4	1.35	0.40	2.08
98.0	1.55	2.05	2.15
123.5	1.65	2.22	2.46
156.8	2.15	2.45	Z
198.0	2.35	Z	
245.2	Z		
dent diameter, mm, after 1 hour at pressure of 39.2 daN	0.95	0.70	0.80
B. Test of 5 percent emulsion on distilled water in Timken chamber, pressure:			
2.22 daN	OK	OK	OK
3.99	OK	OK	OK
6.23	OK	SC	OK
8.80	SC	-	OK
11.12	-	-	SC
friction coefficient at pressure of 2.22 daN	0.110	0.156	0.115

--the longer the carbon chain, the weaker the activity of dialkyl disulfides, and

--at higher pressures sulfur in sulfur esters of fatty acids exerts a greater influence on the lubrication qualities than the presence of the ester group.

The activity of sulfur compounds is based on their reaction with the metal substrate that changes its physicochemical properties and thus modifies the friction conditions. Thin protective layers form on the metal surface, preventing the tearing of metal particles from the surface, and having a passivating action which reduces soiling of the metal sheet surface.

Sulfuric hydrocarbons and sulfuric fats are most commonly used in the metal processing lubricants. This type of additive is used as an additive in steel sheet rolling lubricants, especially since they are produced in Poland in the form of sulfuric mineral oil, sulfuric esters and glycerides of fatty acids.

Studies of the sulfatization of mineral and fatty oils indicated that sulfur in sulfuric mineral oil appears mainly in the form of sulfides and polysulfides whose ratios determine the lubrication properties of the oil. In fatty oils with esters of unsaturated fatty acids, sulfur is linked with unsaturated bonds creating sulfide and disulfide bridges [6].

These results explain the activity of the additives and their behavior in typical tests for the presence of active sulfur on a copper plate, which in test conditions (100°C, 3 hours) becomes darkened.

As a result of studies to determine the optimum quantity and type of lubricant additives and the quantities of individual emulsifiers to be introduced into the composition of the lubricant for silicon steel sheet rolling with the evaluation of the lubrication properties of oils in four-ball measurement equipment and of 5 percent emulsion of these oils in the Timken chamber, it was established that:

--the anionic emulsifier used in the tests such as ethanol amine salt of fatty acid has a favorable effect on the strength of the lubricant film, especially in the presence of sulfuric esters of fatty acids;

--the strength of the lubricant film of the emulsion made of the oil containing disulfide with an alkyl aromatic radical along with fatty oil is similar to the strength of the lubricant film made of oil containing sulfuric esters of fatty acids, but the friction coefficient is higher than for most emulsions made of oils containing only sulfuric fatty additives;

--the lubrication characteristics of the oils containing only a polar additive in tests in the four-ball unit were the same regardless of the content of the additive; similar results were obtained in studies of the lubrication properties of the emulsion in Timken chamber;

--the results of the tests of oil emulsions in the Timken chamber differentiate the oils in terms of lubrication quality better than studies in

four-ball units, but in cases such as those mentioned above the results obtained in the Timken chamber can also lead to an incorrect conclusion.

Tables 1 and 2 present some of the test results illustrating the foregoing observations made during the course of development of lubricants for cold rolling of steel sheets.

As a result of studies at the Institute of Oil Technology in developing the production process of the lubricant for silicon steel rolling, three types of oils were selected for the initial tests in the production processes at the Lenin Metal Works [KMHiL]. The oils were denoted by the symbols EW-T/1, EW-T/2 and EW-T/3.

On the basis of the tests conducted at KMHiL, the oil EW-T/2 was accepted for industrial trial use.

Before introducing the oil EW-T/2, the KMHiL factory at Bochnia used imported oil for cold rolling of silicon steel sheets. Comparing the properties of the new domestic oil with those of imported oils used successfully by Bochnia division of KMHiL is interesting.

Table 3 presents the characteristics of domestic oil EW-T/2 from the experimental industrial batch used in 1982 in comparison with the properties of imported oils identified conventionally as oil A and oil B.

At the request of KMHiL, Bochnia Division, the Trzebinia Oil Refinery produced in August of 1982 30 tons of EW-T/2 oil that was used in experimental industrial operation. The tests confirmed that Polish oil can be used for cold rolling of silicon steel sheets.

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SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

POLAND

NEW SILICON ALUMINUM ALLOY DEVELOPED

Warsaw AUTO TECHNIKA MOTORYZACYJNA in Polish No 5, May 85 p 21

[Article by Jan Nowak, MS (Eng), Small Car Research and Development Center, Bielsko-Biala: "A New Aluminum Alloy"]

[Text] A cooperative project by the Department of Light Metals of IMN in Skawinia, the Research and Development Center of Small Cars of the Compact Car Factory in Bielsko-Biala and the Laboratory of Light Metals at Kety have resulted in the creation of a new alloy of aluminum with silicon with improved heat resistivity. The project is not limited to theoretic or laboratory research. Since January of 1985, the Compact Car Factory has been using it instead of the previous alloy AK62 that was utilized mainly to produce engine heads. The new alloy, a silumin of the Al-Si-Cu group, containing Mg, Mn, Ti and Sr, is marked by improved strength characteristics, making the thermal treatment unnecessary, and stable temperatures during the course of engine operation. These features were achieved by increasing the quantity of Cu dissolved in the solution and by reinforcing the alloy through selection of individual ingredients leading to segregation of highly dispersed structural elements, such as Al_2Cu , Mg_2Si and $Al_{10}(Mn,Fe)_2Si$.

In order to obtain a smaller grain size, Ti was added in the same quantity as in AK62. A modification with strontium has also been used.

The mechanical properties of AK84M alloy tested at room temperature on specimens cut out of the engine head were as follows: $R_m = 196$ mPa, $R_e = 176$ mPa, $A_5(\min) = 1.0\%$ and minimum hardness = 95 HB. These properties are approximately the same as with AK62 (but those specimens were cast specially for the testing). Therefore, they are better than the characteristics of AK62, especially since the hardness is much higher than 95 HB.

Better endurance properties of AK84M compared with AK62 are especially pronounced at high temperatures. This is important for the heads of air-cooled internal combustion engines. From analysis of the curves obtained it is clear that, up to the temperature of $200^\circ C$ (the operation range of the engine of a Fiat 126p), the strength characteristics of the alloy are not lowered and actually even improve as a result of aging processes. The characteristics begin to deteriorate at temperatures above $200^\circ C$, with a pronounced shift towards high temperatures as compared with AK62. The

alloy AK84M also has favorable casting properties, fluidity and moldability (for example, the fluidity of AK84M when using pure alloy from ingots is 20 percent higher than that of AK62). An additional improvement of the strength characteristics of AK84M can be obtained by intensive cooling of cast products after removal from the mold and application of thermal treatments.

The alloy AK84M will find applications primarily in the manufacture of machine parts subjected to heavy thermal and mechanical stresses. An important consideration is also the cost savings resulting from the possibility of eliminating the thermal treatment.

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